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EDITORIAL

THE AMISH, BOTH THE OLD ORDER AMISH AND OTHERS OF ORIGINAL AMISH CONNECTION who are now Mennonites in various Mennonite conferences (chiefly Conservative Mennonite and so-called "old" Mennonite, and Central Conference Mennonite), constitute a major block in North American Mennonitism at least 50,000 adult members strong. Within this block the descendants of the original Pennsylvania Amish, both eastern and western Pennsylvania, are certainly the larger part with probably 35,000 members. The other part, the descendants of the Alsatian Amish, 15,000 strong, with very little of the Old Order element, and some 5,000 of them now in Mennonite groups outside the "old" Mennonite Church, have constituted a distinctly different ethnic and religious stream in North America, though of common European background.

The full history of the Amish in North America remains to be written, although numerous articles and even monographs on the Amish have appeared in the last decades, as witness Hostetler's extensive *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish.* The REVIEW is happy to present in this special Amish issue a major contribution toward this goal, largely consisting of portions of two recent master's theses.

THE FIRST OF THESE IS GRANT STOLTZFUS'S STUDY, "THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST AMISH Communities in North America." Of the first five communities, all founded in prerevolutionary days in the triangle formed by the junction of Berks, Lancaster, and Chester counties in eastern Pennsylvania (Reading to Parkesburg), four were extinct by 1830, but the fifth, the Conestoga Valley settlement, has become the mother of one of the largest Amish settlements in North America with over 4,000 members in a compact block (2,500 Old Order), in addition to large settlements in the Kishacoquillas Valley (Belleville, Pa.) and around Smithville and West Liberty, Ohio; Garden City, Missouri; Topeka, Indiana; and Hubbard, Oregon. Stoltzfus's material is largely on the settlement and cultural aspects, some of it completely new.

THE SECOND AMISH HISTORICAL STUDY IS ALVIN BEACHY'S IMPORTANT WORK ON "THE Amish Settlement in Somerset County, Pennsylvania." This settlement, the second oldest in the United States and also prerevolutionary, is of the same stock as the eastern Pennsylvania settlements, but of largely independent origin from Europe. It is the mother of an even larger family of Amish settlements, totaling possibly 15,000 adult members, most of whom are still Old Order or very close to it. Of the original three communities in Somerset County, two were extinct soon after the Civil War, but the Casselman River settlement has remained large and healthy. The daughter settlements include the very large settlements in Holmes County, Ohio, and Elkhart-Lagrange County, Indiana, as well as the large settlements in Moultrie-Douglas County, Illinois, and Johnson County, Iowa, plus numerous smaller settlements in Ohio, Indiana, and Kansas. Beachy's study is particularly valuable since it presents much altogether new material, and treats extensively and sympathetically the ecclesiastical history of the Somerset County mother settlement.

MAURICE MOOK'S STUDY OF THE AMISH OF ATLANTIC, PENNSYLVANIA, IS A CLEAR AND useful thumbnail sketch of a young, small, and fully cohesive Old Order Amish community now just twenty-five years old.

THE REVIEW REGRETS THE NECESSITY OF DISCONTINUING THE REPORT ON SECONDARY SCHOOL attendance as a part of Silas Hertzler's valuable annual study of "Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges," which has been a feature of the REVIEW for the past twenty-five years. The continued growth in the number of secondary schools and the complexity of the statistics has forced their elimination. We hope some other means of publication can be found for them.

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HISTORY OF THE FIRST AMISH MENNONITE COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA

By Grant M. Stoltzfus*

Throughout parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, and a few other states are settlements of Amish people, one of the better known sects in American life. The total Amish membership is given in the *Mennonite Yearbook* as 15,816, a figure which does not include unbaptized children of the larger than average families that make up these scattered communities. Their official name is "Amish Mennonite," though in each locality they are commonly called "Amish" both by themselves and their neighbors. They are generally known as quiet country people, and by large segments of the American public they are regarded as a peculiar group of American citizens who have withstood the standardization pressures of American life and culture. Their German dialect language, their unique dress, their horses and buggies instead of automobiles, their usually prosperous farms—these and other traits make them an object of interest and curiosity to observers and readers of magazines and newspapers.

*Grant Stoltzfus was born in the Conestoga Valley settlement but his present address is Denbigh, Virginia. This article is extracted from the author's M.A. thesis completed under the guidance of Professor Alfred P. James of the graduate school of the University of Pittsburgh, 1954, under the same title. The study was made possible by a generous grant from the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. Plans are under way to enlarge and publish the thesis.

There was a time, no more than thirty years ago, when literature about the Amish was quite meager and also inadequate as to the facts about them. In many important ways this lack has been remedied. In 1951 an *Annotated Bibliography on the Amish* appeared. Its author was John A. Hostetler, an able student of Amish life. The bibliography will guide the student to general works on Amish origins and history. It provides the researcher with a long list of local settlement histories in many different states. The bibliography contains numerous references that cover the church doctrines and practices of these people as reflected in their own documents, disciplines, and devotional literature. The numerous magazine articles of the past are tabulated in an almost exhaustive manner. Sources for studying the literature, language, music, art, and hymnology of the Amish are included in the Hostetler bibliography. Of particular value to the student of Amish life and culture are the pages containing references to Amish biographies and genealogies. In addition to the above content of the bibliography there is a section devoted to modern scientific studies on the Amish by graduate students and social scientists. This considerable body of literature on Amish life, history, and culture has served to make the Amish "more widely, accurately, and favorably known." The need for reliable and authentic information has been met to a large degree.

However, in all the literature about the Amish there remain certain gaps to be filled. One of these gaps is that of a definitive account of the first Amish Mennonite settlements in America. Such a study needs to be clear as to the truth about the European origin of the Amish and the reasons for their coming to America. In order for the study to be a true continuation of the Amish story it must show an awareness of the social and economic backgrounds in the part of Europe from which the Amish came. Finally, it must take into account all the scattered fragments to be found on Amish life as it was transplanted to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. It must also include what information it can on how the Amish communities developed in a young nation that was independently taking form in frontier country, having opened its land to settlers seeking religious freedom and a greater degree of economic opportunity. Such a history of the earliest Amish Mennonite settlements in America is attempted in my M.A. thesis.

The eighteenth and early nineteenth century Amish settlements have not gone completely unrecorded. Since 1885 genealogists of

the Hertzler, Mast, and Hochstetler families have compiled highly valuable materials that trace the descent of the major Amish family lines. C. Henry Smith's *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* of 1929 has a chapter on the Amish which is fair and accurate as to general impressions. Like C. Z. Mast's *Annals of the Conestoga Valley* of 1942, it gives the reader essential, if not always documented, information. Neither of these works pretends to be inclusive or final since they treat the early Amish settlements only as a part of a larger picture, the larger picture being either the total Mennonite immigrations or the lore and history of the Conestoga Valley with its many denominations. Together with the genealogies, Mast's and Smith's works formed excellent guides and helps in the quest for historical facts for this study.

The Northkill Settlement

The historian who seeks for traces of this Amish congregation will find them among the tax lists, the deeds, and the drafts of tracts of land. Bern Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, tax lists of 1752, 1754, 1772, 1785, 1786, 1788, 1789, 1791, 1792, 1794, 1799, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1809 contain Amish names to which Amish genealogists trace virtually all Amish family lines that can be traced to the eighteenth century.[1] Among the names on these tax lists are Christian King, Samuel King, John Holy (misspelling perhaps for Hooley), John Hershberger, Christian Yoder, Hans Lantz, John Fisher, John Kauffman, Christian Stutsman (Stutzman), Jacob Kofman (Kauffman), Jacob Stutsman, Jacob Beiler, Christian Kauffman, Christian Albrecht, Jacob Hertzler, Jacob Hochstetter, Hans Hochstetter, Christian Byler, Johannes Yoder, Stephen Kauffman, Isaac Kauffman, Jacob Mast, Mathias Naffziger, John Nafziger, Stephen Kurtz, Hanes Zuck, Jacob Yoder, Christian Hertzler, Christian Zuck, Christian Hershberger, Yost Yoder, John Mast, David Hertzler, Henry Mast, Peter Glick, Dan Glick, David Hershberger, Abraham Hershberger, Abraham Mast, Christian Mast.

The deed books of Berks County, Pennsylvania, contain many of the above Amish names in Bern Township but with these addi-

1 These tax lists are in a fine state of preservation at the Berks County Historical Society, Berks County, Pa. In the work to be published these tax lists will be compared to those in C. Henry Smith's *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* to discover the cause of the present discrepancies.

tional: Christian Beiler,[2] Hans Kortz,[3] Jacob Burkey,[4] and Morris Zook.[5]

A study of drafts of tracts of land in Bern Township, Berks County, reveals many of the same names as do the tax lists and deeds.[6] A tract of land belonging to Christian Yoder was surveyed in Bern Township on April 10, 1766. It is bordered by land belonging to Jacob Hertzler and other land of Christian Yoder. Another draft of the same date, also bordered by Hertzler land, contained three acres and a half. Both drafts are listed as original settlers.

Another draft states, "By virtue of a warrant dated the 9th day of January, 1750, surveyed the 9th day of November, 1762, to Jacob Hertzler the above described tract of land situate in Bern Township, Berks County, containing one hundred and eighty-two acres and thirty perches and the allowance . . ." (draft at this point is indistinct). The land referred to in the draft is bordered by land of Christian Yoder, the late Stephen Kauffman, and the late Jacob Hertzler.

Another draft shows a resurvey of 170 acres, "By virtue of the warrants granted unto Jacob Hochstetter." The resurvey is dated May 6, 1788. Land belonging to John Kaufman borders the tract. Another draft shows three tracts of land warranted to Jacob Hochstetter. One is of 80 acres, another contains 111 acres, and a third contains 57 acres. All were surveyed on March 25, 1773. Land belonging to Christian Stutzman, Christian Courtz, and Melcher Detwiler border these tracts. Another draft shows holdings of Jacob Beyler (Beiler). Warrants are dated December 1773, and July 1749.

A final draft to be preserved for posterity is one which shows a 59-acre tract with a warrant date of April 20, 1750, belonging to Johannes Lantz. A 90-acre tract, warranted in January, 1737, has the name of Jacob Masht (Mast) on it and a smaller warrant of 21 acres belongs to Jacob Kaufman. Christian Hershberger's land and John Masht's (Mast's) land adjoin. The document states that on March 22, 1808, the properties were resurveyed to Jn. Masht. It also states, "4 tracts returned May, 1808."

[2] Berks County Deed Books, Vol. A 3, p. 360. Year of deed, 1764. Grantor: John Onage.

[3] Berks County Deed Books, Vol. 10, p. 42. Year of deed, 1762. Kortz is listed as grantor to Stephen Kurtz.

[4] Berks County Deed Books, Vol. 2, p. 169. Jacob Burkey is listed as deeding property to Christian Zug.

[5] Berks County Deed Books, Vol. 12, p. 480. Year of deed, 1791. Grantor: William Garrett.

[6] Drafts referred to here were found in the files of the Berks Title Insurance Company, Reading, Pa.

Few traces remain to give a picture of the kind of agricultural community life these pioneer settlers established. The tax lists of 1785 and 1791 give the number of horses and cows under the name of each person on the list. In nearly all cases there were two horses and two cows listed, though in 1785 John Yoder was an exception to this in that he had four horses and three cows. As one compares these cattle holdings with those of the non-Amish neighbors there seems to be no noticeable difference. In this respect farmers on the Berks County frontier seemed to be on an equality. The Amish settlers of the Northkill area were part of a large community of German farmers. "Nine-tenths of the first settlers of Berks County were Germans."[7]

In 1783, a Dr. John Schoepf, surgeon of the German auxiliary troops in the service of England, 1776-83, traveled through Berks County and recorded certain of his observations.[8] He has been called "one of the most enlightened and unprejudiced foreign travelers in the United States." Dr. Schoepf notes a "methodical" agriculture among the farmers of northern Berks County and at points not too distant from the Amish settlement. He cites large stone houses and well-kept yards among the inhabitants who are mostly Germans and "who speak bad English and miserable German." He refers to the growing of buckwheat and the prevalence of oak trees. "America is a land of oaks." Dr. Schoepf states further that these farmers "flatter themselves that they can increase the fertility of the soil by introducing manuring with lime and gypsum." The country people in the neighborhood of Reading "are all well clothed and fed, and there are only a few among them who own less than 200 acres of land."

The will of Jacob Beiler dated July 19, 1765, is a source of further information on the farming activities of the times.[9] In it Beiler refers to a stable near the old house, cherry trees, a meadow, a hemp patch and rows of trees in an orchard. Wheat and rye are the grains mentioned. Flax was grown, and there is a reference in the will to "20 bundles of straw." Dung was to be hauled for his widow and the land was to be plowed and harrowed. Mention is made of a first and second crop of hay and like the firewood for his widow the hay was to be carried under cover. Two cows and a hog are among the items bequeathed. That these early Amish

[7] I. D. Rupp, *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties* (Lancaster, 1844) 95.

[8] John D. Schoep. "Travels Through Berks County in 1783," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* V (1881) 74-81.

[9] Will Book No. 2, p. 87 in the Register General's Office, Reading, Pa.

farmers practiced diversity of enterprise may be gleaned from the fact that at two places in the will are references to a tanyard. A mortgage in Book A, page 454 of the records of the General Loan Office at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, refer to Beiler as a tanner. He mortgaged his farm for 200 pounds on May 18, 1774. The mortgage was satisfied on April 6, 1779.

Christian Miller's will refers to a bed and bedstead, a cow and two swine.[10] Wheat and rye are again mentioned together with two rows of apple trees and a cow in the pasture. Miller closes the will with these words, "I ordain my trusty friends Jacob Hertzler and Christian Zuck as my executors of this my last will and testament which I witness with my hand and seal the 8th day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one."

The size of the Northkill settlement is uncertain though Dr. C. Henry Smith's estimate of one hundred fifty to two hundred souls may be a safe one.[11]

In the history of the Northkill settlement there is an incident that is widely known among the descendants of this settlement, known as the Hostetler Massacre. It is best understood when seen in its larger setting as a phase of the French and Indian War. The Germans who settled southeastern Pennsylvania maintained, on the whole, a peaceful relation with the Indians until about 1755 or after Braddock's defeat. For some years after that date the Blue Mountain section of the Pennsylvania frontier became the scene of numerous assaults from the Indians. One report states that

> there swarmed amongst the frontier settlements of the Province hundreds of scalping parties, carrying death and destruction with them everywhere, whose work did not cease until the year 1783.
>
> At this time the Blue Mountains practically marked the limit of actual settlement on the part of the white men, and it was along this range that the storm burst in all its fury. Standing as it did on the verge of civilization, and forming in itself a natural barrier, it was but in accordance with reason to occupy it for the purpose of defense and to stay the further encroachment of the enemy.[12]

In keeping with this situation, the Provincial Government in 1756 established a chain of forts along the Blue Mountains from the Susquehanna to the Delaware. The forts were about ten to fifteen miles apart.[13] Despite the fortification, attacks and raids

[10] File of wills in Berks County Courthouse, Reading, Pa.

[11] C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (Norristown, 1929) 240.

[12] H. M. M. Richards, *Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, I: *The Indian Forts of the Blue Mountains.* (Report of the Commission to locate the site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, 1896) p. 3.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 4

from the Indians persisted. Pennsylvania newspapers of the time as well as other records bear abundant testimony to the massacres that befell the inhabitants of the Blue Mountain areas of Berks County. In the fall of 1757 several of these reports tell of the Hostetler Massacre.

"From Reading, in Berks County, there is advice, that on Thursday and Friday last, some people were murdered in Bern Township and others carried off."[14]

"From Reading we have advice that last Wednesday the Enemy burnt the House of one Hochsteller and killed Hochsteller's wife and a young man and himself and three of his children are missing."[15]

Still another paper reports that Indians came to the "Hoffstettler Platz," killed the man's wife, burned the house and barn and took the children with them. One son escaped.[16]

A further note in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 13, 1757, refers to four people being killed in Berks County and "four made prisoners near the Northkill by a party of Indians, supposed to be about fifty."

One more document exists to shed light on the Hostetler Massacre. It is a petition, dated August 13, 1762, in which Jacob Hockstetter requests the return of his children.[17] The petition reads as follows:

Petition of Jacob Hockstetter to Governor Hamilton, 1762

To the Honorable James Hamilton, Esq.
Lieutenant Governour of Pennsylvania,

The Humble Petition of Jacob Hockstetler of Berks County,
Humbly Showeth:

That about five years ago your Petitioner with 2 children were taken Prisoners, and his wife and 2 other children were killed by the Indians, that one of the said Children who is still Prisoner is named Joseph, is about 18 years old, and Christian is about 16 years and a half old. That his House and Improvements were totally ruined and destroyed. That your Petitioner understands that neither of his Children are brought down, but the Embassadour of King Kastatealoca, who has one of his Children is now here.

That your Petitioner most humbly prays your Honour to interpose in this Matter, that his Children may be restored to him, or that he may put into such a Method as may be effectual for that Purpose.

And your Petitioner will ever pray, etc.

August 13, 1762. his
Jacob X Hocksteter
mark

[14] *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* October 6, 1757.
[15] *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser,* October 6, 1757.
[16] *Pennsylvanische Berichte,* October 15, 1757.
[17] *Pennsylvania Archives,* First Series, IV, p. 99.

Whether because of the petition or other influence, the later information on the family shows that the children were restored to their father. The 1772 and 1774 tax lists of Bern Township in Berks County list Jacob Hochstetter as an owner of property. Purchases of land were made by Hochstetter in 1765 and 1776 in Berks and Lancaster counties respectively.[18]

It has always been claimed by the descendants of the Northkill community that the encounter with the Indians was in good part responsible for the decline of this community and the removal of its members to other places. At any rate few traces remain of this once flourishing Amish community. One of these traces is a small cemetery on the original farm of Jacob Hertzler, two miles west of the present town of Hamburg. It is considered as the burial place for a number of the settlers of the Northkill area.

For many years the descendants of the original families have made pilgrimages to his cemetery. In 1901 they erected a marker over the grave of Jacob Hertzler. It reads: "Jacob Hertzler, Pioneer Settler, Preacher of the Gospel, Born in Switzerland 1703, Came to America 1749, Died 1786." Jacob Hertzler is remembered by the Amish as the first bishop of their faith to come to America. His charge included not only the Northkill settlement but also the other Amish communities that were founded in southeastern Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Tradition has it that Hertzler visited the various congregations on horseback and even by walking.

The Maiden Creek Valley Settlement

Among the other settlements that were outgrowths of the Northkill community was a scattered settlement in Berks County known as the Maiden Creek Valley settlement. Its members lived in the vicinity of and south of the confluence of the Maiden Creek and the Schuylkill River. All the deeds traceable to Amish names and Amish persons were dated after the time of the Hostetler Massacre. Tax lists of Cumru Township and Maiden Creek Township include the name of Jacob Kurtz, Abraham Kurtz, Christ Esch, Christian Stoltzfus, David Zuck, and John Schmucker.[19] A study of the deeds in this area and around this time reveal activity on the

[18] Harvey Hostetler, *Descendants of Jacob Hochstetler, the Immigrant of 1736* (Elgin, 1912) 46, 47; Berks County Deed Books, Vol. A 4, p. 235 records that on June 28, 1765, forty-five pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania was paid in full by Jacob Hochstadtler to David Brecht for 157 acres in Heidelberg Township of Berks County.

[19] Tax lists in possession of Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pa.

part of the Amish in buying and selling land. Johannes Hertzler was granted a tract of land from James Read in 1761.[20] John Kaufman was granted land in Maiden Creek Township in 1763.[21] The deed which is dated 1786 and grants land to Christian Koenig from Thomas Mifflin contains an additional bit of information by mentioning that Elizabeth Koenig was married to Christian Stoltzfus and that Anna Koenig was the wife of Christian Beiler.[22] Christian Koenig also acquired land from Jacob Kortz in 1787 in Cumru Township.[23] Another early buyer of land in this area was Christian Zug. In 1759 he was granted land in Cumru Township and in 1767 he was granted land in Heidelberg Township.[24] In the deed which records the granting of land to Catherine Zug from Jacob Kortz in 1787 can be found another reference to the marriage of Christian Stoltzfus and Elizabeth Koenig.[25]

On January 1, 1770, Nicholas Stoltzfus and Christian Stoltzfus, "both of Leacock Township in Lancaster County," were granted land in Cumru Township for which they paid 231 pounds.[26] On February 9, 1771, another purchase was made by Nicholas and Christian Stoltzfus. This land was situated on the Tulpehocken Creek, then in Lancaster County but now in Berks. An amount of 600 pounds was paid and the purchase included outhouses, buildings, barns, stables, garden, orchard, fields, meadows, pastures, improvements, ways, woods, waters, and watercourses.[27] Nicholas Stoltzfus and his son Christian, it will be remembered, arrived in America in 1766. The acquiring of land in such a short time illustrates the deep attachment that these early Amish settlers had to the soil.

Records of the life of this settlement are not numerous and it is held by family historians that the settlement was never a strong one. Ministers who served the congregation were Jacob Schmucker, Christian Miller, and Christian Stoltzfus. Jacob Hertzler of the Northkill congregation also served as bishop of this congregation till his death in 1786.[28]

There is a tradition that during the Revolutionary War a member of this congregation, Christian Schmucker, together with

20 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. A 2, pp. 279, 281.
21 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. A 3, p. 139.
22 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. 9, pp. 296, 297.
23 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. 11, p. 189.
24 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. A 2, p. 48; Vol. A 5, 316.
25 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. 11, p. 189.
26 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. B 2, p. 357.
27 Berks County Deed Books, Vol. A 6, p. 464.
28 Amish church records as recorded by C. Z. Mast of Elverson, Pa.

several of his brethren from the Northkill and Tulpehocken settlements, were imprisoned in Reading for refusing military service. The tradition goes on to say that these Amish were sentenced to death but through intervention by Henry Hertzell, a minister of the Reformed Church, execution was never carried out.

One minister of the congregation, Christian Stoltzfus, left the settlement about 1800 and moved to the Mill Creek section of Lancaster County, where he served as bishop of a new settlement till his death in 1832. The community he helped to found has persisted and grown to the present day.[29] Christian Miller served as the minister until his death in 1832. Following this a definite decline set in and a number of families moved to the Conestoga Valley near Morgantown and to Mifflin, Juniata, and Somerset counties in Pennsylvania. For some years the remaining members were served by ministers from the Conestoga settlement. This supply ministry was not always regular or dependable and it is believed that the decline of the settlement was somewhat hastened by this neglect.[30] The death of "Aunt" Polly Miller in 1867 is generally regarded as marking the actual end of the settlement. Descendants of these Amish people joined other faiths including the Dunkards who are known as the Church of the Brethren. According to a descendant and a genealogist of the community, "the Millers, Kurtzes, Zugs, Hertzlers, Reichenbachs, and others have hundreds of descendants in the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Evangelical denominations of Berks County and throughout the nation."[31]

Of the remaining traces of this settlement the historian can point to a grave marker on Wyomissing Avenue in the borough of Shillington and to a small cemetery near Leesport. The marker in Shillington is "In memory of Daniel Miller who arrived from Europe in this country in the year 1750 and also of Christian Miller and relatives of the Miller family." The small cemetery near Leesport, known for generations as the Koenig graveyard, occupies a part of land which once belonged to Nicholas Stoltzfus and contains his grave. A simple marker indicates that he came to America in 1766 and died November 10,1774.

[29] *Amische Gemeinen in Lancaster County* (Kutztown, Pa., 1928) 2; a document by the late John M. Mast (1838-1901) and based on records of 1801 states that Christian Stoltzfus was ordained bishop before he left Maiden Creek Valley for the Mill Creek section in Lancaster County.

[30] Amish church records as recorded by C. Z. Mast.

[31] C. Z. Mast and Robert E. Simpson, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley in Lancaster, Berks, and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania* (Elverson, 1942) 95.

The Tulpehocken Creek Valley Settlement

That a community of Amish once lived in western Berks County a few miles west of present-day Womelsdorf is confirmed by several traces and remains. One of these is the large homestead of an old Amish family in the community. Johannes Kurtz acquired the homestead on April 11, 1764, from Adam Lesh.[32] Johannes had a son, Adam, who was born in 1768 and died in 1852. Adam married a daughter of Bishop Jacob Mast and is listed as a member of the Amish faith.[33] The neat, walled-in cemetery on the hillside behind the old stone house contains a number of graves that are the resting place of the Amish who once lived in the vicinity. One tombstone marks the grave of Johannes Kurtz and his wife Betty. Another marker indicates the grave of Anna Kurtz, the wife of Adam Kurtz. For many years the homestead contained a copy of *Martyrs' Mirror,* the Amish and Mennonite book of martyrs.[34] There is also a long standing family tradition that the Amish gathered in this home for worship since they did not have a meetinghouse of their own in the Tulpehocken area.[35] Beyond the above traces, little exists to tell of the extent and activity of this settlement. Ministerial oversight of the members was taken care of by Bishop Jacob Mast, who it is said was a frequent visitor to the home of his daughter Anna, wife of Adam Kurtz.

The Chester Valley Settlement

The planting, growth, and decline of an Amish settlement in Chester County, Pensylvania, is another phase of the early attempts of the Amish to establish communities in Pennsylvania. According to Jonathan K. Hartzler this settlement was founded by Moritz Zug and his brothers John and Christian. The latter was a minister. These men together with several other families moved to the Chester Valley about 1770.[36] Some land buying by Moritz Zug,

[32] From deed in possession of Herbert Kurtz, Womelsdorf, Pa.

[33] C. Z. Mast, *Mast Family History: A Brief History of Bishop Jacob Mast and Other Mast Pioneers* (Elverson, 1911) 416, 417.

[34] Related to the writer by C. Z. Mast, a genealogist and relative of former occupants of the home.

[35] Related to the writer by Herbert Kurtz.

[36] Jonathan K. Hartzler, "Fifty Years in the Amish Mennonite Churches of Pennsylvania," *Herald of Truth* (June 1, 1902) 163-64. C. Z. Mast, a descendant of the Chester Valley community, gives 1770 as the approximate year of the Zugs moving to Whiteland Township in Chester County. He bases this date on the family records as kept by his grandfather. On April 15, 1880, Shem Zook, a grandson of Moritz Zook, recorded in a letter to John Hertzler, author of the Hertzler genealogy, that his grandfather first settled in Berks County and then removed to Chester County, where he lived until his death. Tradition has it that Indian dangers were a cause of this migration from Berks to Chester County.

who was a farmer, is summarized by a genealogist of the Amish family of Hertzlers. He states that Moritz Zug

> bought of John Morris in 1775, one hundred and fifty acres of land in West Whiteland Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and deeded to his son, Henry, of the same land sixty-four and three-fourths acres; price two hundred and seventy-one pounds. In 1784 he deeded to his son, Jacob, one hundred and four acres of land in West Whiteland Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. The price was nine hundred and eighty pounds.[37]

A number of records exist to show the prevalence and legal activities of the Amish in Chester County from 1770 to 1834 or the time when the community became extinct. Amish names of Zook (later form of Zug), Lapp, Coffman, Rickabaugh, and Kurtz are found in the deed books and will books of the period. It is a common thing to find in the wills a reference to someone who bears an Amish name. For example, Joseph Kurtz's will, dated March 17, 1815, indicates that he bought land from David Lapp and Christian Lapp.[38] In it he specifies that his children are to pay a "reasonable rent to be put upon them by three respectable men of our Amish Society." He lists his son John Kurtz and "Friend" Christian Lapp as executors and Christian Zook as testator.

Other familiar Amish names are those of Fanny Zug and Christian Coffman in the will of Rudolph Lapp in 1800.[39] Christian Zug's will of 1786 mentions his children and refers to "my friend Michael Lapp."[40] Jacob Coffman in 1788 made out his will in considerable detail and after making clear specification for the well-being of his wife he appointed as his executors "dear beloved friends John Zug and Michael Lapp." Christian Zug and George Lapp were witnesses to the will.[41] Christian Zook in 1826 made a will which indicates that his daughters, Barbara, Magdalena, and Anna, were married to Daniel, Jacob, and Christian Hertzler respectively. His land adjoined Jacob Coffman's.[42] The mere scanning of these documents suggests a close interrelationship among those bearing Amish names.

The Chester Valley settlement is unique among the Amish settlements in that it became the first to erect a meetinghouse. It would be of real interest to the historian if he could learn the reasons for this innovation in Amish church life. Amish who have been faithful to the earliest customs of their faith have not erected

[37] John Hertzler, Sr., *A Brief Biographic Memorial of Jacob Hertzler, and a Complete Genealogical Family Register of His Lineal Descendants . . .* (Port Royal, Pa., 1885) 338.

[38] Will Book M, Vol. 12, p. 129. Chester County Courthouse, West Chester, Pa.

[39] Will Book K, Vol. 13, p. 176.

[40] Will Book H, Vol. 8, p. 167.

[41] Will Book H, Vol. 8, p. 218.

[42] Will Book I, Vol. 16, p. 21.

meetinghouses as places for worship. Homes and sometimes barns have been the traditional place for Amish members to gather for worship. How explain the building of a substantial and ample meetinghouse in the Chester County settlement in the late eighteenth century? One can only venture guesses as to the reason. Miss Dorothy B. Lapp, a descendant of the Amish community and a historian, suggests that the building of a place of worship by these Amish people was "probably inspired by the fact that by this time the other denominations in this part of Chester County all had church buildings."[43]

The first record of land transactions for religious purposes by the Amish in this area is recorded on page 265 of Deed Book C-2 in the West Chester Courthouse. On August 13, 1787, Ludwick Reel of Caernarvon Township in Lancaster County and Frany his wife deeded to John Zook "In trust nevertheless for the Society of Amists Brothers and to be sold by the said John Zook or his executors for said Society" two tracts in East Whiteland and Charlestown townships for 866 pounds and 10 shillings.[44] In 1792 a release was recorded in Deed Book G2, pages 200-1.[45] The release refers to land in Whiteland containing "one hundred and forty acres more or less in fee in trust for the Society of Amists." The release goes on to say, "We the subscribers being all persons of the said Society to and for whose benefit the recited trust was intended and to extend to do hereby remise, release and forever quit claim to the said John Zook . . ." The Amishmen signing the release were Michael Lapp, Jacob Coffman, Christian Zook, Abram Zook, John Coffman, Jacob Zook, Adam Rickabaugh, and Henry Zook.

Book F-3, page 381, records the presence of a building or a house to occupy the same for the use of the said Society by whom the said Jacob Zook is constituted and appointed Trustee for the said House and for the use of a German School (also there is no family at any time to live on the aforesaid premises) for and during the full end and Term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years.[46]

The same deed refers to Jacob Zook as Trustee for "Great Valley Omnist Society."

Thus far the documents do not mention the use of this building for worship. However, it was used for worship according to the public sale notice which appeared in the Village Record of West Chester for March 7, 1827.[47] This sales notice reads as follows:

[43] Dorothy B. Lapp, "Union Hall," in Chester County Collections, No. 16 (October, 1939) 490.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 490.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 490.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 491, 492.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 492.

Public Sale. By virtue of a private Act of Assembly passed the 27th of February, 1827, will be exposed to sale on the premises a certain lot of land, situate in the township of East-Whiteland bounded by lands of Jacob Kauffman, deceased, and others:—containing something less than one acre. There is a good stone house and stable on the lot. The house has heretofore been used as a Meeting-house and schoolhouse, and may be easily converted into a dwelling house. Sale to be made on Wednesday the 28th inst. and to commence at one o'clock p.m. Attendance given and condition made known by the Subscriber. John Zook

The enabling power to sell and convey this real estate is recorded in Deed Book E-4, page 310, where a deed dated May 26, 1827, states,

And whereas the said Jacob Zook by petition to the legislative body of this Commonwealth at their last session setting forth that the Great Valley Ominist Society by death and removals had become nearly extinct, and praying that an Act of Assembly might be passed authorizing the said Petitioner and such other persons as they might think proper to sell and dispose of the said lot or piece of land with the buildings thereon directed.[48]

The laws of Pennsylvania in 1826-1827, referred to in the above deed, authorized "Jacob Zook, trustee of the Great Valley Ominist Society in Chester County to sell and convey certain real estate."[49] Later records show that the building, known as Union Hall, was used for school purposes, political meetings and literary events.[50]

A description of the meetinghouse and its use by the Amish is found in the *Chester County Collections* of October, 1939. Says this account:

Plainness prevailed. The floor was bare and benches were used as seats. Like the Friends the ministers were not paid. From historians of the Amish we can picture an early meeting. They met at an early hour and preaching was begun before 9 o'clock. Services lasted till noon. Men and women sat on different sides. The men wore broad-brimmed hats with round crowns. They wore beards. The coats were plain, hooks and eyes were used instead of buttons. They wore pantaloons of coarse cloth, usually brown in color and rather baggy in appearance. The women wore plain caps and black sun bonnets, close fitting dresses, usually brown with green kerchief. Sometimes a gray shawl without fringe was worn.

Services were in German, consisting of exhortation, prayer and singing. The minister read from the Bible in a chanting tone. There was a short pause for a silent prayer during the service. The music notes were not written, but the tunes were passed on from one generation to another.

When a vacancy occurred in the ministry, several men appointed for the service assemble in a room, then men and women of the congregation enter singly and tell the name of the person each prefers. The candidates are then given a chance to decline. Those who were not excused are brought before an equal number of books, each one takes up a book and the one who draws the lot is chosen minister.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 492. [49] *Ibid.*, p. 492. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 493.

This account of the Chester Valley Amish adds that those people "were permitted to take an active part at all local elections, but could not hold legislative positions. They were not permitted to bring suit against anyone. If a member was disowned, he was not allowed to sit at the same table as his family."

Descendants of the Zooks, Coffmans, and Lapps record the fact that the sturdy Goshen Meeting House, as it was called, was still in good condition in 1895, when it was destroyed by fire.[51] The ruins stood until about 1937. In 1953 the writer was able to secure clear photographs of ruins as taken in 1937 by the Chester County Historical Society. The pictures show the remains of what was once a modest stone building. The edifice resembled the Quaker meetinghouses in southeastern Pennsylvania that were built in the colonial period.

Christian Zook is recorded as "among the noted and influential pastors of the Chester Valley congregation." He preached regularly in the old meetinghouse and is said to have conducted evening worship, another innovation in Amish church life. He also is remembered by posterity for having paid visits to the Conestoga Valley in an oxcart usually covered with white muslin.[52]

A few scattered references shed some light on this community in Chester Valley. During the Amish migrations to America in the nineteenth century this community served as a convenient "overnight" stopping place for Amish immigrants who were making their way westward. One such stop is described by Johannes Nussbaum in 1817. Says Nussbaum:

On the 16th of October we went 23 miles from Philadelphia to a settlement of five Amish families. On the 17th we then went to the Pequea. Here we stayed for a week to get deloused. The brethren bestowed upon us food, including butter, meat, bread, and vegetables. From there they guided the way for us to Kalchis (Kishacoquillas). There is also an Amish community. We stayed another week here. We were given fine treatment here. They guided us to Somerset County which was a nine-day journey. Here in Klos (Glades) is another Amish community. In all these places they gave us much to eat. They charged us nothing.[53]

Another reference to the hospitality of the Chester Valley community is found in the story of Christian Ropp, who as an Amish lad of fourteen years came to America. In 1892 Ropp tells,

After we reached Philadelphia, my father hired a team to take us to Lancaster County. After we had gone thirty or thirty-five miles, we stopped

[51] C. Z. Mast, *op. cit.*, p. 694.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 695.
[53] Delbert Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants* (Scottdale, 1953) 138.

over with an old Amishman by the name of Zuck. Here we remained a number of days to arrange our affairs. Then my father bought a horse and after setting up the wagon we had brought with us, we started out again, for my father wishes to go to Butler County, Ohio.[54]

The 1817 reference says that there were only five Amish families in the Chester Valley settlement. This is worth noting since it is about this time that a definite decline was setting in. By 1834 the last family, one by the name of Zook, had moved away and the settlement ceased to be an Amish community.[55] The cemetery across the road from the meetinghouse site still remains as evidence of the once flourishing community. It has been kept in fair condition by Amish descendants from other communities. The tombstones, none too legible, contain names and dates as follows: Morris Zook, died August 25, 1821; Ann Zook, July 16, 1841; Eliza A. Coffman (no date legible); Christian Zug, died Oct. 8, 1823 (?); Magdalene Zug (no year legible); Abraham Lapp, died 1860.

What became of the members of this community? The answer seems to lie between migration to other communities and assimilation into other faiths and societies of the area. Shem Zook, the Amish historian of Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, in the nineteenth century, records in a letter dated April 5, 1880, that his grandfather, Moritz Zook, lived and died in Chester County, but that his father John Zook and his uncle Christian Zook both moved to Mifflin County, the former in 1793. That the Chester Valley settlement was important in the building up of the Mifflin County settlement can be seen in this sentence from Shem Zook's letter: "There are now living in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, thirty-eight families of the name of Zook, all descendants of Moritz Zug."[56] It would seem that the permanent and flourishing community that might have been planted in Chester County, Pennsylvania, actually came into its own in the Mifflin County settlement which until the present has continued as a strong Amish community.

Visitors to some of the old Amish homesteads in Chester Valley frequently find Amish descendants still living in the old homes. However, they are members of other religious faiths. Miss Dorothy B. Lapp refers to certain Lapps, Kauffmans, and Zooks as having joined the Baptists or the Society of Friends.[57] There

[54] Harry F. Weber, *Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois* (Goshen, 1931) 83-87. Quoted from page 103 of John C. Wenger, *op. cit.*

[55] C. Z. Mast, *op. cit.*, p. 694.

[56] John Hertzler, Sr., *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[57] Dorothy B. Lapp, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

is a strong tradition among Amish to the present that urban and "worldly" influences were strong on this settlement. Other faiths and ways penetrated the congregation too greatly for it to hold its own and grow. The oncoming generation could not be kept within the fold.

The Conestoga Valley Settlement

All of the Amish communities thus far recorded have vanished either because members moved to other areas or their descendants chose to unite with other faiths. However, there is one community, founded about 1760, which has survived until the present and now has behind it nearly two centuries of growth. This community is the one in the Conestoga Valley and it lies in parts of Chester, Berks, and Lancaster counties. It is the first permanent Amish Mennonite settlement in America.

The Conestoga Valley was originally surveyed and deeded to Welsh settlers whose grants are recorded between 1718 and 1735. These grants, many of them of three or four hundred acres, were made to persons bearing the Welsh names of Ellis, Morgan, Hughes, Bowen, Davies, Hudson, Jenkin, Evans, and Light.[58] On those large tracts of land, drained by the Conestoga Creek, these Welsh settlers built homes, erected forges and mills, and tilled the soil. At one end of the Valley they erected the Bangor Episcopal Church in what is now Churchtown. The cemetery around the church contains graves with Welsh names on them. At the other end of the Valley they built St. Thomas Episcopal Church in the present town of Morgantown. The cemetery of this church likewise contains many Welsh names on the gravemarkers. Since the coming of the Welsh settlers and the founding of their community an important change has taken place. The change is this: Nearly all the land and homes of the Welsh have passed from their hands into those of the Amish, who now in an almost solid block have come to occupy the Valley.

The beginning of this transfer in land ownership is traced to the year 1760 when Jacob Mast and his family are believed to have moved from the Northkill community to the Conestoga Valley.[59] A warrant was granted to Jacob Mast and a John Holly on November 19, 1764. The same document refers to a Maurice Zug to whom land was sold but never conveyed. The deed which is

[58] See page XIV of Mast and Simpson, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley,* for a map showing the original grants.

[59] C. Z. Mast, *op. cit.,* p. 18.

dated April 13, 1769, states that Jacob Mast paid John Holly three hundred and twenty-five pounds for one hundred and seventy acres.[60] On this tract of land Mast built a log farm house and on this tract he lived until he died in 1808 and was buried in the cemetery on a corner of the farm.

Gradually more and more Amish names begin to appear on the records of Caernarvon Township of Berks County and Caernarvon Township of Lancaster County. (These two townships adjoin.) Tax lists of Caernarvon Township in Berks County in 1780 include the name of John Hertzler. By 1789 a John Hertzler, Jr., is on the list as well as John Mast, Jacob Mast, John Hertzler, and Melchior Plank. By the year 1795 Peter Plank, Christ Hertzler, David Hertzler, David Mast, John Mast, and another Jacob Mast appear. Just how large the Amish community was by this time is impossible to say. However, Jacob Mast's twelve children were all married between the years 1787 and 1806.[61] A good number of these settled in the Valley, having married Amish mates in every instance. A study of Jacob Mast's memorandum of gifts to his children upon marriage shows that he made as ample provisions as possible to start them in the vocation of farming.[62] Nearly the entire Amish congregation by 1850 was related by marriage or descent to the Mast family.

In 1787 Jacob Mast was elected to the office of bishop, succeeding Jacob Hertzler of the Northkill community who died in 1786. Jacob Mast's church duties called for long and difficult travel to the scattered Amish settlements in Berks, Chester, and Lancaster counties and also, it is thought, to the far-away, new settlements in Somerset and Cambria counties of western Pennsylvania.[63] Mast's role in establishing the first permanent Amish settlement in America seems to have been a large one. It was likely due to strong spiritual leadership since his posterity came to regard him highly for his ministry and church labors. Upon the sale of his property in 1808 reference is made to the sale of eighteen books, all going to people with Amish names of Zuck, Hostetler, Mast, Kurtz, and Holly.[64] Considering the paucity of books in homes of those days and in Amish homes in particular one can judge that perhaps Mast was a reader above the average of his people. Unfortunately for the historian no titles of the books were recorded.

[60] Original deed in possession of H. H. Stoltzfus, Elverson, Pa. Deed is not recorded in Berks County Courthouse.

[61] C. Z. Mast, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 701.

Also important in Mast's leadership must have been his achievements as a farmer. The sale of his property after his death is listed on four pages of the *Mast Family History*.[65] He possessed farm tools and gadgets in great variety: pitchforks, kettles, knives, barrels, axes, scythes, a flax heckle, a cider mill, hammers, an anvil, a bellows, a grindstone, shears, an auger, etc. Among the livestock were: a cow, sheep, and hogs. Oats and buckwheat were the grains offered for sale. Amish names are listed as the purchasers with a sprinkling of Welsh names such as Evans and Jones.

Another indication that Mast had some success in accumulating this world's goods can be gathered from a study of the memorandum which records his gifts to each of his twelve children upon their marriage. The gifts varied but not greatly and the following is fairly typical. It states what was given to his oldest son, the first to be married. The memorandum reads:

> Date June 17, 1787, my son John Mast got married, and I the father, Jacob Mast, gave on that day to my son—One bed with covers, one chest, two cows and one heifer, at the cost of nine pounds in money, one hog, at one pound and five shillings, one horse at fifteen pounds, one saddle at two pounds, one mattock at nine shillings, one wagon at seven pounds, two sheep and three lambs at one pound, five bushels of wheat at five dollars, one new plow with clevis at two pounds and ten shillings and also gave him in cash one hundred pounds.[66]

It would seem that Jacob Mast as a spiritual leader and as a competent farmer combined the important traits in Amish history and this may well account for his role in establishing the first permanent Amish settlement.

There were hindrances, however, to the growth of this community and some of these at least set in after the death of Jacob Mast in 1808. These hindrances seem to relate more to the spiritual life of the community than to its economic life. A diary by a Morgantown storekeeper, James L. Morris, gives a clue to some of the influences which ran counter to the Amish way of life and which took its toll from the membership of the Amish church. On October 29, 1842, he recorded in his diary that:

> The Homish have a congregation in the neighborhood and as their discipline forbids the erection of houses of public worship, they hold meetings every other Sabbath at the house of the members giving each house its regular turn. What the condition of the church is, whether flourishing or otherwise, I am unable to say. These three—the Methodist, Episcopalian and Homish

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 698-701.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

or Amish—are the only denominations that held worship in this neighborhood.[67]

The same observer of the Amish church also records the presence of revival meetings in the Valley and one of these was held on the farm of one who, if not an Amishman, was of Amish descent. Morris states in his diary of August 16, 1841, that

> a few, some 3 or 4 wagons, with camp equipage passed through this morning on their way to the Camp Meeting to be held this week in Jacob Mast's (Senior) woods about 2 miles northeast of here. Almost everybody, either going or returning to the camp all the time.
> August 19th: The street has been thronged all day with folks either going to or returning from camp, on foot, on horseback and in all manner, kinds and sorts of vehicular conveyances. August 21: Camp meeting broke up this morning and from eight o'clock until half past ten o'clock Morgantown was thronged with folks passing, wearied and worn out, covered with dust and perspiration.

Nor was this the only time when the community felt the impact of a revival movement. On March 9, 1843, Morris records, "Scarcely ever have I heard of such seeking after religion, in all parts of the country as in the few months last past. Revivals have been east, west, north, and south of us and amongst and in all societies."

Apparently these meetings had their influence on the inner character of the Amish church, though the revivalistic emphasis has always been quite foreign to the traditional Amish ways. A Daniel Mast, 1803-83, came under the influence of the meetings and though he responded to them, he did not leave the Amish people but became an Amish minister and served effectively for some years.[68] Other Amish people were apparently influenced also by the camp meetings and left the Amish fold to become members of other faiths. One of these, a Samuel Plank, served a local Methodist Church for some years.[69] According to C. Z. Mast,

> Scores of intelligent young men and women whose parents were members of this church (Amish) became the greatest pillars in other denominations throughout the Valley. Of such instances we may cite one family who produced three prominent Methodist preachers. This fact can be solely attributed to the inactivity in the church and the home in instituting work for her young people.[70]

The Morris diary provides the historian with a splendid picture of a small and thriving farm community in southeastern Penn-

[67] James L. Morris Diary, October 29, 1842. The diary is preserved by the Berks County Historical Society, Reading, Pa.
[68] Manuscript by C. Z. Mast of address given at Second Annual Mast Reunion, August 18, 1950.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] C. Z. Mast, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley*, 88.

sylvania during the decade of 1837 to 1846. The weather, births, deaths, marriages, political rallies, school activities, church services, public sales, superstitions, roads, crops, prices, and local gossip—all find their way into the diary of the observant storekeeper who also served the Morgantown community as a surveyor and executor of deeds and wills. His observations of Amish community life are valuable, for he writes as a sympathetic and yet somewhat detached observer.

Amish funerals are among the items Morris noted in his diary. In September, 1842, he refers to the death of Christian Hertzler, "one of our Homish farmers." On September 18, 1842, he records that

> The burial of Christian Hertzler at 10 a.m. was very numerously attended. As usual with the Germans more especially a general and pressing invitation was given out for all to stay and dine. The number that sat down to dinner is differently estimated from 150 to 200. The preparations for this meal had been immense. Two whole quarters of beef had been provided, some 30-odd fowl and other things in proportion.

On February 11, 1845, another funeral was observed:

> The funeral of Mrs. David Mast was fully attended today. Upwards of one hundred sleighs were there. A general invitation was given to the company to take dinner which it was reported was plentifully provided for. Orders had been given to have a barrel of flour baked up into bread so that there should be no lack. Other eatables were no doubt provided on the same large scale.

Still another funeral was recorded on August 6, 1845.

> Mary Mast's funeral took place today and was numerously attended. The Homish came in great numbers from a distance. She was about 81 or 82 years old and has resided at the same place now occupied by her son Daniel, 56 years.

Two Amish weddings are recorded. Descendants of both couples still reside in Conestoga Valley. On March 7, 1844,

> Daniel Hertzler, son of Christian Hertzler, deceased, married Barbara, oldest daughter of John Mast. This wedding will be, if not a splendid one, quite a festive one, inasmuch as the Amish make it a great occasion of feasting and jollity. Great preparations have been made and it is said a great number have been invited—nearly all of the Society—the younger ones, I suppose. In olden times it was their custom for all to go who felt inclined and the feasting was kept up for three days.

The other wedding was recorded on October 19, 1843:

> Today John Kurtz, oldest son of Jacob Kurtz, senior and farmer "up at the head of the lane," was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen Mast. There was to be quite a party—the young Homish folks were invited by

dozens. Cakes and wine were provided in abundance. The Homish in olden times gave great wedding parties and "kept up the fun" for several days in succession, but this practice, good and merry as it was, like many other of the mirthful, aye and innocent—customs of our ancestors, is being abandoned in a great degree.

The Morris diary, replete with many scientific and weather observations, would not fail to include outstanding farmers in the Valley. One of these was David Mast, who was also a deacon in the church.[71] On September 12, 1845, Morris wrote: "This David Mast is one of the most enterprising men of our neighborhood and as an agriculturist he has scarcely his equal. To a knowledge of the various theories he adds an extensive practice and is not too timid to indulge in experiments."

One of David Mast's experiments was recorded on October 15, 1845. "David Mast purposes manuring the Watts farm (which is very poor) with bone dust. He has offered $5.00 per ton for all the bones that can be collected and wants 30 or more tons. This is the first attempt in this neighborhood to use bone manure."

The success of Mast's experiment was recorded on June 10, 1846:

David Mast whom I mentioned last winter as having erected a bone mill, strewed or sowed a quantity of bone dust upon some poor forest land on which he sowed oats. A small patch of land was left unstrewn and the difference is remarkable. On that land on which the bone dust was applied, the oats is equal to any in the good valley land, while on the other it is merely "forest oats."

Few records can be found on public sales in Amish communities of more than a century ago. Morris on October 27, 1845, records how David Mast offered his farm for sale. "On Saturday last David Mast offered his farm for sale, but it would not go. He advertised 310 acres—160 acres valley limestone, 55 acres tillable land and 95 acres of woodland. For all this he asks $18,000. The improvements are first rate."

David Mast's role in the economic life of the Conestoga Valley included the operation of teams of Conestoga horses, an especially fine breed of horses. He operated three teams at one time. Moses Hartz, a teamster and farmer in the Valley, drove one of these teams over the stagecoach road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh.[72]

The Amish quest for land outside the community did not

[71] C. Z. Mast, *Mast Family History*, 67.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-67.

escape Morris' alert eyes and ears for on September 1, 1845, he records,

A party of our Homish Germans and of the Masts set out today to Maryland with the intention of viewing the country and the land with the object of buying and remaining there. The valley of the gunpowder is more especially their destination and they purpose, should the country please them, to remove thence in such numbers from here and Lancaster County as to form a congregation there. Others of their sect have already visited that particular section of Maryland and are prepared should these now going be pleased with the country to go with them. Maryland is now and has been for some years past attracting to its cheap land a great many Pennsylvanians, particularly from counties of Chester and Lancaster. Were it not for the existence of slavery there, thousands more would go that are now deterred only by that one thing.

The outcome of their venture for new land was recorded on September 9, 1845.

The Masts and their Amish friends have returned from Maryland. They give a good account of the lands they viewed but they did not buy, neither do they talk of advertising or offering their own lands for sale, which is necessary as they say in the first place so as to enable them to buy.

By this time the Conestoga Valley Amish community was firmly established. Its members were active and prosperous farmers. Visitors from other Amish communities came and many marriages took place with young people from these communities. Some couples remained in the Valley while others moved elsewhere. By 1850 it is believed that the church members numbered at least thirty, though the Amish community itself must have numbered much more.[73] The figure of thirty includes only baptized adults. Since Amish families are traditionally large and the young people did not join the church until late in their teens, one could perhaps safely double this figure for an estimate of the members of the Amish community. The community in 1850 was on the verge of rapid growth and many changes, for by 1900 the Amish church membership (including both progressive and conservative groups which developed from 1877 on) numbered one hundred eighty.[74]

Bishops of the congregation during this period of founding were[75] Jacob Mast, 1788-1808; Peter Plank, 1808-31; John Plank, 1831-35; John Stoltzfus, 1835-37; David Beiler, 1837-45; John K. Stoltzfus, 1845-54. Ministers were Daniel Mast, 1803-83; Moses Hartz, 1819-1916; and Christian Hertzler, 1804-63. Deacons were John Mast, 1763-1852, and David Mast, 1798-?.[76]

[73] C. Z. Mast, *Annals of the Conestoga Valley*, 88.
[74] Jonathan K. Hartzler, *op. cit.*
[75] C. Z. Mast, *op. cit.*, 81. Dates refer to years of ordained service.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 82. Dates refer to life span.

Farm and Family in the Earliest Settlements

"As to the Amisch, they are many in number; but they are not here near us, and we can give no further information concerning them except only this, that they hold very fast to the outward and ancient institutions." This is an excerpt from a letter dated March 1, 1773. It was written by Mennonites in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, to Holland Mennonites who, among other things, had inquired of their New Word brethren concerning the settlement and practices of the Amish.[77] A study of the folkways, patterns of family life, farming practices, and church customs of the Amish in the eighteenth century and later will confirm the observation of these Mennonites that the Amish were "holding fast" to the outward and traditional practices that they brought with them from Europe.

"Nearly all of our ancestors came to this country poor and had to manage with scanty food and clothes and had to live almost in huts." These words by an Amish bishop, David Beiler, were written in 1862 when he had reached the age of seventy-six and was recalling a past in which he had served many churches and gathered something of the history of his people from relatively wide travel.[78] It was in poverty and in difficult frontier circumstances that the Amish families undertook to make a living by farming. Their chief assets were a tradition of hard work, constructive farming methods learned in Europe, and access to land which Penn's colony had in abundance. Unlike the New Englander who settled in villages, the Amishman and his Pennsylvania-German neighbors settled on family-sized farms. These farms became remarkably self-sufficient, for they supplied the needs of the family in food and clothing. Only a few necessities such as salt, iron, glass, and spices had to be secured by barter for the farms of southeastern Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. It has been estimated that "about a half acre of flax and the wool of a half dozen sheep were required to clothe a pioneer family of seven."[79]

David Beiler's memoirs contain a reference to the spinning of flax in the early Amish homes.

One was satisfied with and delighted in home-made stuff. The wives and daughters spent the winter spinning. The flax seed was sown in the

[77] For complete text of this letter and notes see pages 395-404 in John C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (Telford, Pa., 1937).

[78] John Umble, "Memoirs of an Amish Bishop," *MQR* XXII (April, 1948) 103.

[79] S. W. Fletcher, "The Subsistence Farming Period in Pennsylvania Agriculture: 1640-1840," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XIV (July, 1947) 185-86.

spring, and in the fall it had to be pulled, broken, and hackled. That was work mostly for the wives and daughters. It was customary to hear the spinning-wheel hum or sing in almost every farm house, and where this was not the case people remarked it as of people who did not do their duty.[80]

The will of Jacob Beiler, 1765, in Bern Township of Berks County provided that his widow should be provided with "20 bushels of straw and one quarter of flax," the flax to be grown on the same land where the tenant had his flax.[81]

Every indication is that the Amishman of this period avoided becoming a large proprietor. There is a record that in 1720 an influential Amishman by the name of Kurtz was offered a thousand acres by a proprietary agent, but he refused the grant saying,

It is beyond my desire, as also my ability to clear; if clear, beyond my power to cultivate; if cultivated it would yield more than my family can consume; and the rules of our society forbid the disposal of the surplus. I cannot accept of your liberal offer; but you may divide it among my married children, who at present reside with me.[82]

It is of passing interest at least to note that after two hundred years the traditional Amish farmer still does not want more land than he and his family can properly farm. Some departure from this can be noted in recent years but not an extensive one.

A word about farm implements has been preserved by David Beiler. He says,

I will also tell about the farm implements. Sixty years ago we had ploughs that had no metal. They were of wood. We knew nothing at all of cultivators at that time nor of threshing machines or of horsedrawn rakes. That was hard work. In the winter the grain was trampled out by the horses. That was work for the boys.

He goes on in the same passage to say that horses were not tied in the stables and they wore a simple harness with saddles and bridles to correspond. Wagons were unpainted.[83]

Amish farmers have always been known for their wise use of manure. Some farmers in early American history considered manure a nuisance; not so the thrifty Amish farmer. So important was the proper use of manure that Jacob Beiler specified in his will that the tenant "shall haul out the dung for her and plow and harrow the land where she will have it."

Not only did the Amish family care for the farm, but the farm cared for the Amish family and that beyond the lifetime of the

[80] John Umble, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[81] Will Book No. 2, p. 87 of Register General's Office, Courthouse, Reading, Pa.
[82] Redmond, Conyngham, "History of the Mennonists and Aymenists or Amish," *The Register of Pennsylvania*, ed., Samuel Hazard, VII (March 5, 1831) 150.
[83] John Umble, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Amish farmer himself. A study of the old Amish wills gives the historian much insight into the concern that the Amishman had for his widow and children after he laid down the burden of life.[84]

Jacob Mast in 1808 in the Conestoga Valley began his will by specifying that "the house in which we dwell shall be kept in order for my dear and beloved wife."[85] John Kurtz in his will of 1796 provided a place in Tulpehocken Valley for his widow for she was

to have the liberty to live in the small room and the use of the kitchen which is inside of it in the house I now live in, so much room in the cellar and on the garret to put her things as she has occasion for and where she pleases, the use of the bake oven with free egress, ingress and regress.[86]

In 1804 Christian Beiler in Lancaster County provided a place for his widow Anna by saying,

it is my will that my son Jacob Beiler shall build a little house for his mother to live in and by so doing I bequeath to him fifty pounds in gold or silver, but if my son Jacob should refuse to keep his mother and build a house for her, then it is my will that one of my other sons may have her upon the same conditions.[87]

But a house for the widow was not enough. She was also provided furniture in many instances. John Kurtz in the will already referred to also ordered that his widow should have two beds with bedsteads and "whatsoever thereunto belonging," and two chests. Jacob Mast of the Conestoga Valley requested that his widow have the right to keep the beds, chest, and kitchen furniture as she wants.

However, a place to live and furniture for that place are not given as much space in Amish wills as are the detailed instructions about what the widow is entitled to for her sustenance and welfare. Jacob Beiler of the Northkill settlement, in 1765, after bequeathing to his widow "the old house and the stable near it," goes on to bequeath her

the garden before the door and three cherry trees thereby and one piece of meadow . . . behind the old barn and the privilege of water thereto and one piece of land on the lower side of the lane where the hemp patch lies about an acre more or less. She may use it as she pleases . . . she has the right to two rows of trees in the orchard. These she may choose yearly

[84] For a thorough treatment of wills in Lancaster, Berks, and other Pennsylvania-German counties see *Pennsylvania German Wills* by Russel Wieder Gilbert in Volume 15 of the *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* (Allentown, 1950). In the main, Amish wills reflect the same detailed concern for widow, children and religion as found in the wills which Professor Gilbert analyzes.

[85] C. Z. Mast, *Mast Family History*, 23.

[86] Will of John Kurtz in possession of Herbert F. Kurtz, Womelsdorf, Pa. Recorded in Register General's Office, Reading, Pa., Vol. B, p. 440.

[87] Register of Wills Office Book K, Vol. I, p. 195, Lancaster, Pa.

and ten bushels of wheat and five rye and 20 bundles of straw and one quarter of flax the owner or tenant must give her yearly, but the flax must be on the same land where she has flax. Fourthly, she has the right to keep one or two cows in the field or meadow . . . she has also the right to keep one hog.[88]

The Amish wills reveal a uniform concern for the welfare of the widow and many quotations could be found to show this. A further examination of John Kurtz's will of 1796 reveals a few additional customary practices of the Amish in Berks County during the eighteenth century. After specifying that his widow should receive ten bushels of "good wheat," and three bushels of "good rye," and three bushels of buckwheat, Kurtz ordered that the grain be taken to the mill "from time to time" and that the meal and bran is to be returned to his widow's dwelling. Fifty pounds of beef and as many hens or fowl or eggs as she needs were to be provided and firewood was to be delivered to her dwelling. The twenty pounds of hatched flax and five pounds of "good" wool were doubtless included to provide the widow with what she needed to make her clothing. The will designated, too, that she receive one gallon of rum, two gallons of whisky and if the apple crop was sufficient she was due to receive two barrels "good cyder." Six pounds of tallow were due her for candles. Her own preference for garden space was to be respected and it was understood that this garden plot was to receive dung as it required. The widow's need for transportation was not overlooked, for she was to have a horse with saddle and bridle "when she will ride out." A cow was to be kept in "good provender" during both winter and summer. This Amishman looked forward to the day when his widow could no longer milk the cow and make the butter. In that case she was to be given "so much good milk and butter as she has need of." Finally as the widow grew "infirm or sick" the children were to "give and find her good attendance."

Bequests to the children were not nearly as detailed. Jacob Beiler's will gave 30 pounds to each of his ten children in 1765. In Christian Beiler's will of 1804 each of his children were to receive a Bible.

What if the widow should remarry? This possibility was not overlooked. Jacob Beiler stated that his will was to obtain as long as his wife remain a widow, but if she married again her widow share was forfeited and she "hath no longer to enjoy or demand of all these above-mentioned." Christian Miller's will of 1791 refers

[88] Register General's Office, Reading, Pa. Will Book No. 2, p. 87.

three times to the possibility of his widow's remarriage. His final bequest to his wife was that she should receive a third of what remained, "but if she marry again then she shall have only one child's share."

Education of the children must have been largely the function of the family even as it is today in the typical Amish home. David Beiler records that in the Amish communities of 1800 and before, children did not go to school every winter for months at a time. "One was satisfied with learning to read and write."[89] In these simple, primitive Amish communities it was even customary in some instances for the people to walk to church, especially the younger ones. Older people rode on horseback.[90]

Marriage, if carried out in loyalty to the Amish faith, took place only between members of the church. "Outside" marriages did occur but not with the approval of the church leaders and perhaps always with the result that the one marrying "outside" lost his Amish church membership. Family records from the second half of the eighteenth century to the present show how interwined and interrelated are the Amish families. During the generations of Amish community life Amish marriages have been with scarcely a single exception between persons bearing the names of Yoder, Hostetler, Beiler, King, Mast, Kurtz, Stoltzfus, Hertzler, Zook, Miller, Fisher, Esch, Hooley, Smucker, Speicher, Lapp, Blank, and Plank. When the Amish communities were small and scattered as in the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, there must have been numerous marriages between cousins. David Beiler records that when his father-in-law wished to marry about 1750 or 1755 he was refused consent by the ministers and was delayed because he and his prospective bride were first cousins and were considered too closely related.[91]

[89] John Umble, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

THE AMISH SETTLEMENT IN SOMERSET COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

ALVIN J. BEACHY*

A. EARLY AMISH SETTLEMENTS IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

Opinions vary as to the exact date for the beginning of the Amish immigration to America. Milton Gascho gives the date as 1712,[1] while John A. Hostetler estimates that the immigration began about 1710.[2] The late C. Henry Smith found 1714 to be the year which marked the arrival of the first Amish in the New World.[3] Grant Stoltzfus reports no Amish name in a public document before 1749. While opinions vary as to the date on which the immigration began, there is no difference of opinion as to the reason for its beginning. The Amish, like their Anabaptist cousins, the Mennonites, came to this country in quest of the religious liberty that was denied them in their native Switzerland during most of the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[4] The Amish were glad to seek relief in the New World from this religious persecution, and they were among the large group of German-speaking immigrants who landed at Philadelphia in the years before the Revolution.[5] The largest number of Amish immigrants to arrive in the City of Brotherly Love came between the years 1725 and 1750.[6] By 1754 the French and Indian Wars had almost stopped the immigration except for a few latecomers, and it was not resumed on a large scale until the close of the Napoleonic wars, almost a century later.[7] The Amish chose Pennsylvania because of the generous offer of William Penn's land agents. In fact Penn's colony was a haven of refuge for many religious minority groups. After the colonies had won their independence, the state of Pennsylvania practiced religious toleration

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[1] M. Gascho, "The Amish Division of 1693-1697, "*Mennonite Quarterly Review* XI (October, 1937) 266.

[2] J. A. Hostetler, "A Brief History of the Amish," *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* (Scottdale) IX, No. 2 (April, 1948) 2.

[3] C. H. Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (Norristown, 1929) 225-28.

[4] Smith, *op. cit.*, 144-56.

[5] R. B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, 1934) I, viii.

[6] Hostetler, *op. cit.*, 2.

[7] Smith, *op. cit.*, 238.

to a greater degree than any other state in the Union. It is now known that twenty-three religious sects or denominations were flourishing in pioneer Pennsylvania. Among these were the Amish, the Baptists, the Mennonites, the Moravians, and the Schwenkfelders.[8] The Amish settled first in eastern Pennsylvania in what is Berks County. "After the Amish began to arrive in greater numbers, they settled in Chester, Lebanon, and Lancaster counties."[9]

B. The First Amish Settlement in Somerset County, Pennsylvania

It will be remembered that a very bitter feeling had been generated between the Amish and the Mennonites before the two groups left their European home. The ocean voyage did not remove that bitterness, and in the New World the Amish sought to remain a people apart. As the immigrants continued to come and the native population continued to grow, the Amish were forced to seek new frontiers in order to maintain their desired isolation and secure the less expensive land. Both these factors account for the fact that

> They (the Amish) did not seem to follow the Mennonites and other Germans down the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys, but followed up the Juniata and established their first daughter colony near the headwaters of the Ohio, in what is now Somerset County.[10]

The probable date for the arrival of the first Amish on what was then the western frontier of the Pennsylvania colony is 1767.[11] At that time the area which now comprises Bedford, Blair, Fulton, Huntingdon, Northumberland, Somerset, and Westmoreland counties was still Indian territory.[12] A report by a Rev. Captain Steele gives considerable support to an ancient tradition that there were some settlers in the vicinity of this first Amish settlement in Somerset County as early as 1762 or 1763. A report by Captain Steele, which is dated 1768, states that in that year

> Steele and his fellow commissioners learned that in that part of Somerset County in which are now the townships of Stony Creek, Brother's Valley, Summit Mills and Elk Lick, there were some settlers who were there before the Indian title was extinguished.[13]

[8] From a paper prepared by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction, for the Pennsylvania Federation of Junior Historians, p. 1. This paper urges as a fruitful topic for research, "Minority Groups and Their Contribution to Pennsylvania."

[9] Hostetler, *op. cit.*, 2.

[10] Smith, *op. cit.*, 244.

[11] *Ibid.*, 244.

[12] H. E. Blackburn, W. H. Koontz, and W. H. Welfley, *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties, Pennsylvania* (New York, 1906) I, 1-7.

[13] *Ibid.*, II, 51.

The territory now including Somerset County was opened for settlement by the Penns on February 23, 1769.

> The public was informed that on April 3, 1769, at 10:00 a.m. their land office would be open to receive application from all persons inclined to take up lands in the new purchase, upon the terms of five pounds sterling per hundred acres, and one penny per annum for quit rent.[14]

If 1767 is the correct date for the arrival of the first Amish settlers in Somerset County, they were there two years before the territory had been officially opened for settlement. This date seems to be fairly reliable, as it is the date given by various sources. An excerpt from a biographical sketch of Christian Blauch (now Blough) found in the Gnaegi family history presents a vivid picture of life on the frontier in northern Somerset County in 1767. The sketch states that at the time Christian Blauch settled in what is now Brother's Valley Township one-half mile north of Berlin, Pennsylvania, there were only a few scattered cabins. Then the account proceeds as follows:

> Outside these cabins the valley between the Allegheny and Negro mountains was a vast howling wilderness. Christian Blauch selected the place where the buildings now stand, pitched his tent and commenced to fell the primeval forest, surrounded by Indians, bears, wolves, and other wild animals.[15]

If at first Blauch found in his new home only wolves, bears, and Indians as neighbors, he had not long to wait until he was joined by other Amish settlers from eastern Pennsylvania. The records do not show when the largest number of Amish arrived on this new frontier, but it is known that they were there in some force before the Revolution. The fact that they did not actively participate in the War for Independence has been noticed by county historians.[16]

There is no record that the Amish who lived in what is now Somerset County before the Revolution (the county was not organized until 1795)[17] suffered any persecution because of their refusal to bear arms. Doubtless they were so far out on the frontier that their existence there passed relatively unnoticed. Farther east where they were more numerous, they were not so fortunate. An old tradition says that so many men were imprisoned that the women were forced to till the fields. This tradition further states that a group of Amishmen in Reading, Pennsylvania, had been sentenced to be shot and that the execution was stayed only because Rev.

[14] *Ibid.*, II, 17.
[15] E. Gnagey, *A Complete History of Christian Gnaegi* (Elkhart, 1897) 136-37.
[16] J. C. Cassady, *The Somerset County Outline* (Scottdale, 1932) 171.
[17] Blackburn, Koontz, and Welfley, *op. cit.*, 1-7.

Henry Hertzell, a pastor in the German Reformed Church, interceded for them.[18]

1. *The Growth of Early Settlements in the Northern Part of Somerset County.*

Possibly because of this freedom from persecution on the frontier, the Amish began to move west in fairly large numbers at the close of the Revolutionary War. The first resident Amish bishop of Somerset County was a Christian Yoder. This Christian Yoder was the son of another man who bore the same name and was sometimes referred to as Schweitzer Christian in order to avoid confusing his identity with that of his son.[19] Schweitzer Christian, as his name implies, came from Switzerland. He arrived in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1744 and lived there until 1776. In that year he moved with his wife and four children to what is now Somerset County, and bought a large tract of timberland near the site where the town of Pugh now stands, for the sum of $968. The deed for this property was dated October 9, 1775. There were no roads and the nearest neighbors were five miles distant.[20] The first wife of Schweitzer Christian died shortly after the family arrived in Somerset County. He then married Barbara Hooley, and eleven children were born to this union. The birth date of the Christian Yoder who became the first resident Amish bishop of Somerset County is given as 1758.[21] The year of his ordination to that office is not known. However, Amishmen are not ordained to any office in the church before they are married. It is not likely that Christian Yoder was married before his twentieth birthday, and not probable that he was ordained as bishop before he was thirty. The probability is rather that he was older and that it was near the turn of the nineteenth century before the Amish settlement in Somerset County could boast of a resident bishop. This settlement later became known as the Glades settlement.

From 1767 to about 1800 then the Conemaugh congregation, which had been started by the settlement of Christian Blauch, and the Glades congregation, which was started by the settlement of Schweitzer Christian, had to look to the older Amish settlements for such spiritual ministry as they received. This spiritual ministry of the pioneer days was provided by Bishop Jacob Mast. Bishop

[18] C. Z. Mast, *A Brief History of Bishop Jacob Mast and Other Mast Pioneers* (Elverson, 1911) 691.

[19] D. B. Swartzendruber, letter dated March 20, 1950, Kalona, Iowa.

[20] Blackburn, Koontz, and Welfley, *op. cit.*, III, 116-17.

[21] J. A. Hostetler, "Amish Pioneer of Somerset County, " *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* X, No. 4 (October, 1949) 1.

Mast is said to have landed at Philadelphia on the *Brotherhood* on November 3, 1750. He was a native of Switzerland.

Bishop Jacob Mast proved himself a leader of considerable ability promoting the welfare of the church with all the vigor that he was able to muster. He had charge of all the Amish Mennonite settlements in America during the greater period of his bishopric. The settlements at that time were confined to the colony and later to the state of Pennsylvania. He had three districts west of the Susquehanna River which he generally visited on horseback. They were known as Kishacoquillas Valley congregation in Mifflin County and the Glaydes and Conemaugh congregations in Somerset and Cambria counties.[22]

Probably these visits from Bishop Mast were no longer necessary by the turn of the century, the Glades and Conemaugh congregations having by that time ordained ministers and bishops from among their own number.

Who the first resident minister or bishop of the Conemaugh congregation was is not known. But at a conference of the three Amish congregations in Somerset County (the third was located in the southern end of the county and will be discussed later) held somewhere in the county on March 18, 1837, those who signed as ministers of the Conemaugh congregation were Jacob Oesch, Christian Miller, Joseph Miller, and Jonas Yoder.[23] No Amish congregation would be blessed with five ministers unless it was of more than average size. The Conemaugh congregation probably reached the peak of its population around 1850. The first half of the nineteenth century saw the colony grow rapidly. Johnstown, made famous by the flood of 1888, was founded by Joseph Shontz or Jons in 1800.[24] Mr. Jons was of the Amish persuasion. He is perhaps the only Amishman to give his family name to what later became a thriving American city. Today the great-grandson of the Amish pioneer is the minister of the Unitarian Church in Hartford, Connecticut.[25] The Amish were in Johnstown and its vicinity in sufficient numbers to give their name to one of the city's suburbs. Even after the congregation had became almost extinct, this suburb was known for a long time as "Der Amish Hivel," because at one time it was practically all owned by Amish people.[26]

[22] Mast, *op. cit.*, 696.

[23] H. S. Bender, "Some Early Amish Disciplines," *MQR* VIII, No. 2 (April, 1934) 93-95.

[24] *Johnstown Centennial, 1800-1900 History of the Centennial Celebration of Johnstown.* Published by authority of the Centennial Committee, 33.

[25] From a personal interview with the Rev. Payson Miller, April, 1950.

[26] S. G. Shetler, "Bishop Moses B. Miller," *Gospel Herald* (Scottdale) XXII, No. 18 (August, 1929) 379-80.

The pattern of growth was much the same for the Glades congregation as it had been for the Conemaugh congregation. At the ministers' conference of 1837 those who signed their names as ministers of the Glades congregation were Christian Yoder, Sr., Christian Yoder, Jr., Abraham Miller, Jacob Miller, Jacob Swartzendruber, and David Yoder.[27] A table giving the return of taxables in Brother's Valley Township for the years 1783 and 1784 shows that at that time there were nineteen family heads in the area who bore Amish names. Among the names recorded on this list are Bondrager, Gnagey, Hostetler, Livengood, Miller, Mishler, Stutzman, Schrock, Troyer, and Wenger.[28] The Amish then as now had large families, and the presence of these nineteen families in the region by 1784 probably means that more than a hundred people were living in the area at that time who were known by their speech and manner of dress as "Amish."

There is some indication that there may have been more than one congregation in the Glades region at one time. The Jacob Swartzendruber who signed as one of the ministers of the Glades congregation in the conference of 1837 later removed to Johnson County, Iowa. In the year 1949 the late D. B. Swartzendruber of Kalona, Iowa, was searching for some information that would enable him to write a biography of his grandfather, Frederick Swartzendruber. In the course of this search a note was discovered which had been written by his great-grandfather, Jacob, one of the ministers who had signed as a minister in the Glades congregation in the conference of 1837. This note was written in German and reads as follows:

> Habe im Jahr 1869 eine Reise gethan mit Joseph Oesch. Erstlich nach Canada, darnoch in Konistoga, von dort in Beckweh und in Tuscarwas Valley, hernach in die Kishacoquillas Valley, von dort in die drei Klatzer (Glades) Gemeinen, von dort in Ohio in Holmes Co., und dort in Elkhart Co., Ind. Und dort habe ich eine andre Haus Mutter genommen, nemlich Mary Miller, dem Daniel Miller seine hinter lassene Witwe; dem Völligen Diener früher wohnhaft in der Klatzer Gemeinde.[29]

Jonas B. Miller, minister at Grantsville, Maryland, insists that there never were three Amish congregations in the Glades region. Jacob Swartzendruber, however, had lived there and served for a while as one of the ministers, so he should have been familiar with the region. A brief description of Somerset County published

[27] Christian Yoder, Sr., was the son of Schweitzer Christian, the immigrant of 1744, while Christian Yoder, Jr., was the son of Christian Yoder, Sr. Swartzendruber letter, *op. cit.* Also, Bender, "Early Amish Disciplines," *op. cit.*

[28] Blackburn, Koontz, and Welfley, *op. cit.*, II 139-43.

[29] Swartzendruber letter, *op. cit.*, March 20, 1950.

in 1843 states that in that year the county's population was chiefly of German descent and that German was the prevailing language. The sketch goes on to say that in 1830 the population was divided into the following religious sects: the Lutherans having seventeen churches; the German Reformed, twelve; the Methodists, eight; the Mennonites, five; the Baptists, four; the Amish, four; the Presbyterians, two; and the Roman Catholics, one.[30] It would appear then that in 1830 there were at least two congregations in the Glades, for the only other Amish settlement in the county lay in the southern end between what are now the towns of Meyersdale, Pennsylvania, and Grantsville, Maryland. Another possibility would be that the 1843 publication considered the southern settlement as two congregations as well as the northern settlement.[31] The full solution to this problem will perhaps yield to further research. In any case it is evident that by 1830 the Amish were in Somerset County in sufficient numbers to be recognized by both county and state historians. The predominantly German-speaking population probably accounts for the fact that the first successful newspaper published within the county was published in the German language. This paper, known as *Die Westliche Telegraph,* made its first appearance in 1812. The printing house which printed the paper also printed books, among them an edition of the *German Quanto Bible,* which made its appearance in 1813. A statement from the preface of the Bible says that it was the first Bible published in western Pennsylvania.[32]

2. The Decline and Disappearance of the Conemaugh and Glades Congregations.

Few Amish congregations which were once flourishing disappear completely, but such has been the case with both the Conemaugh and Glades congregations. No satisfactory explanation has as yet been found for their disappearance. One of the factors which led to the break-up of the Conemaugh congregation was the lure of cheaper and more fertile land in the West. The first Amish settlers left this area for the region of Elkhart and Lagrange counties, Indiana, in the spring of 1841.[33] By 1875 the families in the Conemaugh congregation had become so few in number that the practice of worshiping in the homes of the various members

[30] S. Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (New Haven, 1834) 616.

[31] The southern settlement is at present divided into two sections known as the the Upper and Lower settlements.

[32] M. Hause, *A Somerset County Historical Notebook* (Somerset, 1945) 11.

[33] E. J. Bontrager, letter dated June 6, 1950, Shipshewana, Ind. Mr. Bontrager is a highly respected Old Order Amish bishop of Lagrange Co., Ind.

had become a burden. The meeting came to the same home too frequently. Earlier there had been enough families so that no one family was required to have the meeting more than once or twice a year. As the number of families became fewer through emigration, death, and failure to win the rising generation, some of the Conemaugh congregation proposed the building of a meetinghouse. There was some opposition to the proposal, but this was successfully overcome and two meetinghouses were erected. One was built on the farm of Isaac Kaufman near Davidsville in Somerset County and became known as the Kaufman Meetinghouse. The second was built on the farm of Bishop Moses B. Miller near Geistown in Cambria County and became known as the Miller Meetinghouse.[34] These meetinghouses, built in 1875, were, so far as is now known, the first Amish meetinghouses in America east of the Ohio River. Bishop Miller served the church from the time of his ordination as bishop in 1848 until his death in 1902. The fact that the Amish persisted in using the German language in their preaching services, except at funerals, caused many of the children of Amish parents to unite with the Mennonite Church.[35] So ends the story of the Conemaugh Amish congregation. The last bishop of the congregation died in 1902. It is not known when the last surviving member of the congregation died. It is hoped that further research will reveal more definitely when and why the congregation expired.

When an attempt is made to find an adequate reason for the disappearance of the once thriving Glades congregation or congregations, as the case may be, reliable information is even more scanty than in the case of the Conemaugh congregation. The reasons given by the various traditions are these: one, that the congregations became very lax in morals; two, that the larger part of the congregation moved westward in search of cheaper and more fertile land; three, that many of the young men either enlisted or were drafted into the armed forces during the Civil War and thus became lost of the church; and four, that so many of the congregation were being won to the Church of the Brethren, that the leaders of the group decided to leave and start a new community where they would again be isolated from other denominations. Some support can be found for each of these traditions. In support of the first tradition is the ninth item of agreement in the Discipline of 1837, which reads as follows:

> With regard to the excesses practiced among the youth, namely that the youth take the liberty to sleep or lie together without any fear or shame,

[34] Shetler, *op. cit.*, 379-80. [35] *Ibid.*, 380.

such things shall not be tolerated at all. And when it takes place with the knowledge of the parents and something bad happens on account of it, the parents shall not go unpunished.[36]

It will be remembered that this discipline was drawn up at a conference of all the Amish ministers then serving congregations in Somerset County. Such an item would not have been considered by the conference unless the issue had confronted the churches in a real and troublesome manner. That this iniquitous practice of "bundling" (courtship in bed) was particularly troublesome in the Glades area is attested to by an epistle written by Jacob Swartzendruber and addressed to the Amish ministers' conference of 1865. Swartzendruber had served in the ministry for the Glades congregation for several years, after which he moved to the vicinity of Grantsville.[37] Jacob Swartzendruber had apparently tried to correct this evil in the Glades congregation, and when the other ministers either could not or would not support him he moved out.[38] In the epistle of 1865 Swartzendruber remonstrates against the levity which existed in Amish communities while men were dying on the battlefield during the Civil War.[39]

In support of the tradition that many of the families moved to the West much evidence can be found. In the obituary file of the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, one finds many notices like the following:

> Died Oct. 12 in Lagrange County, Ind. Bishop Joseph Miller, aged 68 years, 10 months and 27 days. He was born in 1808 in Somerset Co., Penna., and in 1833 was chosen minister. In 1841 with his family and three other families he came to Elkhart Co.[40]

Through checking these files it was found that the Glades congregation had lost a number of settlers not only to Indiana but also to Iowa. However, these are not sufficiently numerous to account satisfactorily for the total disappearance of the mother colony. The remaining two traditions must therefore also be examined.

The third tradition which says that many of the young men served in the regular army during the Civil War can be only partially supported. There were some who did serve in the army, but they were all draftees, and they were few rather than many. The names of these men are, furthermore, the only indication that they

[36] Bender, *op. cit.*, 93-95.
[37] Swartzendruber letter, *op. cit.*, March 20, 1950.
[38] H. S. Bender, "An Amish Bishop's Conference Epistle of 1865," *MQR* XX, No. 3 (July, 1946) 225-26.
[39] *Ibid.*, 229.
[40] Obituary column, *Herald of Truth* (Elkhart) XIV, No. 11 (November, 1877) 181.

were Amish, but this is usually evidence that is reasonably reliable. The names of the men who are known to have served as soldiers during the Civil War are as follows: Christian Berkey, John Hershberger, Joseph Miller, Tobias D. Yoder, and Jeremiah Yutzi.[41]

The fourth and last tradition finds some support in that a number of people who bear names of Amish origin still live in the vicinity of Berlin, Pennsylvania, but they have become members of other churches. An outstanding example of these is Jacob B. Schrock, who served at least one term and possibly more as a State Senator. He states that his ancestors came to that area in about 1772, and that they were devout Amish people.[42]

The total weight of all four traditions put together does not seem to explain adequately the total disappearance of a once thriving Amish community. Exactly when the Glades congregation breathed its last as an organized group is not known. The last resident bishop of the Glades congregation was Abner Yoder, who moved to Johnson County, Iowa, in 1866.[43] In 1865 Bishop Yoder had attended a conference of Amish ministers in Holmes County, Ohio, at which time he signed his name to the discipline drawn up at the conference as a minister in the Glades congregation in Somerset County.[44] Possibly it was at this conference of 1865 that Abner Yoder learned of the Amish settlement in Iowa and decided to cast his lot with the new pioneers. Abner Yoder was the grandson of Christian Yoder, Jr., who had also served as a bishop in the Glades congregation, but probably not until the death of his father, Christian Yoder, Sr., in 1838.[45] Christian Yoder, Sr., and Christian Yoder, Jr., both signed their names as ministers of the Glades congregation in the Discipline of 1837.[46] Thus, for a period of one year at least, and possibly longer, father and son served as ministers in the same congregation.

The last surviving member of the Glades congregation was Benedict Yoder, grandson of Schweitzer Christian, the immigrant who first settled in the Glades in 1776. Benedict was born in 1817 and lived until 1910, when he died at the age of ninety-three.[47]

[41] Blackburn, Koontz, and Welfley, *op. cit.* II, 262-65.
[42] J. B. Schrock, letter dated May 5, 1950, Berlin, Pa.
[43] Bender, *op. cit.*, footnote, 225.
[44] *Ibid.*, 225.
[45] Bender, *MQR* VIII, No. 2 (April, 1934) 95.
[46] *Ibid.*, 95.
[47] Hostetler, *op. cit.*, 1 and 3.

C. The River Congregation

1. Origin of the Congregation

The River congregation received its name from the fact that it was located near the Casselman River in the southern end of Somerset County. The river received its name from Jacob Casselman, a hunter and trapper "who had his camp along the river on what is now either the John or Jacob Saylor farm."[48] It is impossible to tell from existing records when the congregational life of the Amish in this area was first organized. It is, however, known that individual Amish families entered Elk Lick and Summit townships at a very early date. This general area was opened for settlement by the Penns on April 3, 1769.[49] A farm which now lies between Salisbury and West Salisbury was sold to Peter Livengood by William St. Clair in 1773. The deed to Livengood states that St. Clair had applied for his warrant to survey the tract on April 12, 1769. This was just nine days after the land office opened.[50] Another interesting tradition connected with the Livengood family is that a daughter Elizabeth was born to them before they had had opportunity to erect a permanent dwelling place. This daughter later married Jacob Brenison and was still living in 1870, when her age was given to Michael F. Smith, Esq., a census officer, as ninety-eight.[51] This would fix the date of Peter Livengood's arrival in Elk Lick Township in 1772.[52]

Other early settlers in this area were Christian Gnaege and Jacob Saylor. Gnaege came from Switzerland and entered a tomahawk claim for 500 acres of land about two miles south of the present town of Meyersdale in 1774. "A surveyor's plot of 1784 shows that Gnaege's neighbors at that time were John Hochstetler, Michael Miller, John Yotter, Christian Berkey, and Joseph Farney."[53] Jacob Saylor, whose name appears among those of the early settlers, died in 1796. His will, which is one of the earliest to be recorded in Somerset County, leaves to his son John the family Bible and "the old Menno Simon book; which was printed in 1575."[54]

2. Early Life and Ministers of the River Congregation.

By the turn of the century the Amish in Elk Lick and Summit townships appear to have been fairly numerous. There is not much

[48] Blackburn, Koontz, and Welfley, *op. cit.* II, 65.
[49] *Ibid. II,* 17.
[50] *Ibid.*, 69.
[51] *Ibid.*, 502.
[52] *Ibid.*, 71-72.
[53] Smith, *op. cit.*, 245.
[54] Blackburn, Kootnz, and Welfley, *op. cit.* II, 65.

evidence of any organized congregational life in the area until 1809. In that year Benedict Miller was ordained to the ministry in the Amish Church. Benedict was the first Amish minister to be ordained in Elk Lick Township. He was the son of Jacob Miller, who had come from Berks County before 1787.[55] On Whit Monday in 1813 Benedict Miller was ordained as bishop of the Amish Church in Elk Lick Township,[56] and thus became, so far as is now known, the first resident bishop to serve the River congregation.

After Benedict's ordination the River congregation seems to have expanded rapidly. When the Amish ministers of Somerset County held their 1837 conference, two other men signed with Benedict as ministers of the River congregation. They were Yost Yoder and Hannes Gingerich.[57] Family traditions which are well established give us some revealing glimpses of the character of the first Amish bishop of Elk Lick Township. Part of the growth of the community during the first half of the nineteenth century is accounted for by the fact that the European Amish had started a new immigration to America. At the close of the Napoleonic Wars some of these found their way to Somerset County and the River congregation. The following account of the arrival of Wilhelm Bender from Hesse-Darmstadt shows that these immigrants did not always arrive under the most favorable circumstances. It also gives us a character portrait of Bishop Miller.

Wilhelm, the oldest son of the second marriage, it was decided, should go to America before he reached the age when young men must enter military training. But the family was very poor. Passage to America was beyond their means, and Wilhelm became a "redemptioner." Peter Kinsinger, an Amish friend who was coming to America, paid Wilhelm's passage. When they landed at Baltimore, they came in contact with the proprietor of a nursery who paid to Kinsinger the amount of Wilhelm's passage, with the understanding that Wilhelm would stay as a "redemptioner" and work out the sum he had paid for him. Kinsinger came west on the "National Trail," now United States Route 40, and joined the Amish settlement in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, and Garrett County, Maryland, while Wilhelm, a boy about fifteen years of age, was left near Baltimore, a stranger in a strange land.

When Kinsinger arrived in Somerset County, and the brotherhood learned of Wilhelm in Baltimore, bound out as a "redemptioner," the Amish bishop, Benedict Miller, took steps to have him redeemed and brought to Somerset County. One of the daughters of Bishop Miller said, "That boy may become a husband for one of us." She spoke more truly than she knew. Miller went personally to Baltimore on horseback, paid the redemption money, and brought Wilhelm to his own home. About eight

[55] *Ibid.*, 502.
[56] Shetler, *op. cit.*, 379.
[57] Bender, *MQR* VII, No. 2 (April, 1934) 95.

years later, in 1838, Wilhelm Bender and Katharine Miller (the girl who said the above) were married.[58]

Other traditions regarding Bishop Miller for which no written evidence has been found state that after the Amish settlement was started in Holmes County, Ohio (see Chap. 4 of thesis), he frequently visited that colony on horseback and ministered to them. On one of these journeys he is said to have spent the night in Wheeling, West Virginia, in a tavern which was operated by German-speaking people. When the proprietor learned that his guest was a minister, he asked him to preach, and it is said that Bishop Benedict complied with the request.[59] It is also said that Benedict Miller had read his Bible through three times by December 14, 1836, and that he possessed both English and German copies of the Holy Scriptures.[60]

From these glimpses it is possible to learn that Benedict Miller was a man of large sympathies and rather broad interests. It is also possible to learn that during his years of active ministry the River congregation had spread from Elk Lick Township in Somerset County across the state line into what is now Garrett County, Maryland. Many of the homes of these early Amish settlers were located in the vicinity of what is now the village of Grantsville, Maryland. Benedict died in the spring of 1837 or 1838 (the accounts vary) and was buried on the farm which he then owned. His grave may still be seen on the farm which is now owned by Amos Yoder, a short distance west of Springs, Pennsylvania. The grave was marked with a simple sandstone slab, and the wind and weather have all but erased the inscription which it once bore.[61]

After Benedict Miller's death the spiritual oversight of the River congregation passed into the hands of Jonas Beachy, who then lived on the farm which is now owned by Noah M. Beachy.[62] It is not known whether this Jonas Beachy had been previously ordained to the ministry in the River congregation, but it is more than likely that he had. Since, however, he is listed as Miller's successor in various sources,[63] and since Miller died not later than 1838, it may be safely assumed that Jonas Beachy was ordained to the office of bishop of the River congregation shortly after that date.

[58] C. W. Bender, *Descendants of Daniel Bender* (Berlin, Pa., 1948) Foreword, 1.
[59] From a personal interview with the widow of the late S. S. Miller, a grandson of Benedict in July, 1950. At that time Mrs. Miller was in her ninety-sixth year.
[60] From the card files of Dr. Alta Schrock, Goshen College, Goshen, Ind., July, 1950.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] Mrs. M. E. Hershberger, letter dated Feb. 17, 1950, Salisbury, Pa.
[63] Blackburn, Koontz, and Welfley, *op. cit.* II, 503.

Very little is known about Bishop Beachy. The records show that he was married to Sara Gnaegi either in 1812 or in 1816, and that he became the father of eleven children.[64] The sources concur in fixing the date of his death as October 23, 1878, at which time he was nearly eighty-seven years of age. There is left to posterity at least one item of historical fact which indicates that Bishop Beachy was a man of considerable vigor. This item has come down through the generations in the form of a baptismal certificate which is now in the possession of Bishop C. W. Bender of Salisbury, Pennsylvania. The baptismal certificate has been framed and covered with glass so that it is well preserved after more than one hundred years. It is written in German and reads as follows:

Diesen behden Ehegatten als: Peter Petersheim und seiner ehelichen Hausfrau Susana eine geborene Millerin ist eine Tochter zur Welt geboren, den 20ten Tag Februar im Jahr unseres Herrn 1830. Diese Tochter ist geboren in der Klets (Glades) in Somerset County, im Statt Pennsylvania in Nord America and is getauft worden und erhielt den Namen Susana den 7thn Tag October im Jahr unsers Herrn, 1849, von Herr Jonas Bitsche.[65]

From the above it is clear that Bishop Beachy had traveled from his home in the southern end of the county to the Glades settlement in the northern end of the county in order to conduct baptismal services. No doubt this distance of nearly forty miles was covered on horseback over unimproved roads. At the time of Bishop Beachy's death he lived on Keyser's Ridge nearly fifteen miles west of the village of Grantsville. It has not been clearly established that he moved to Keyser's Ridge before 1849. If he had, then the visit to the Glades settlement was a greater test of his physical strength.

Bishop Beachy continued to serve the church until his death in 1878 according to information received from his granddaughter, Mrs. Katharine Hershberger.[66] This information is apparently reliable, as the obituary of his successor, Joel J. Miller, states that Miller was ordained by lot and chosen as bishop on November 13, 1887.[67] This would leave a ten-year period between the death of Beachy and the ordination of Miller, when the River congregation appears to have been without a resident bishop. However, there is one other source which indicates that Joel Beachy, a brother to

[64] Gnagey, *op. cit.*, 69. This gives the date of the marriage as 1816 and the date of his birth as November 5, 1791, while Samuel Peachey gives the date of the marriage as 1812 in *A Memorial History of Peter Bitsche* (Lancaster, 1892) 54.

[65] Copied from the original by the writer on July 14, 1950.

[66] Hershberger letter, *op. cit.*, Feb. 17, 1950.

[67] Obituary column, *Gospel Herald* (Scottdale) XVIII, No. 36 (December, 1915) 591.

Jonas, was ordained as bishop in 1854.[68] This would indicate a period of about twenty-five years when the River congregation appears to have had two bishops. Though it cannot be positively stated from the evidence now available, 1850 or 1853 probably marks the time when the River congregation had grown too large for supervision by one man, and it was decided to divide the settlement into two districts, using the Mason-Dixon Line as a natural geographic division. Whether this division was made at this time or not cannot now be positively established, but it is a known fact that such a division did at one time exist after the above-mentioned dates. In 1865 at a large gathering of Amish ministers in Holmes County, Ohio, two ministers from the River congregation affixed their names to the discipline there drawn up. They were Joel Beachy and Daniel Hershberger.[69] It is known that sixteen years later this Daniel Hershberger was an associate of Bishop Manassa Beachy, who was then bishop on the Pennsylvania side.[70] No doubt Hershberger represented the Pennsylvania Amish and Joel Beachy the Maryland Amish at the conference of 1865. Joel Miller may have been ordained as bishop after Joel Beachy became physically unable to perform the duties of a bishop for those on the Maryland side of the Mason-Dixon Line. Joel Beachy died in 1894,[71] while Joel Miller continued to live until 1915.[72] Manassa Beachy, who was a son of Jonas Beachy, served as bishop on the Pennsylvania side for a number of years, but since the date of his ordination has not been found, it is impossible to tell how long he served in that capacity. He died on June 5, 1895, at the age of fifty-seven.[73] Though the Bible which he owned is still well preserved, it contains no notation in regard to the date of his ordination. However, Amishmen are not ordained to the ministry before they are married, and it is not often that a man is ordained as bishop until he has first served as a minister. Probably Manassa was at least thirty years of age before he was ordained as bishop, which would mark the date of his ordination as 1867, and he may well have been older. It is established that he was serving as bishop in 1885, when the Daniel Hershberger who attended the conference of 1865 with

[68] Gnagey, *op. cit.*, 174-75. An obituary reprint from a newspaper states that Joel Beachy was ordained as deacon in 1851, as minister in 1853 and as bishop in 1854.

[69] Bender, *MQR* VIII, No. 2 (April, 1934) 95.

[70] S. E. Hershberger, letter dated Feb. 23, 1950, Grantsville, Maryland.

[71] Gnagey, *op. cit.*, 175.

[72] Obituary column, *Gospel Herald*, 591.

[73] Obituary column, *Herald of Truth*, XXXII, No. 13 (July 1895) 207.

Joel Beachy died. The obituary states that Bishop Manassa Beachy had charge of the funeral services.[74]

3. *The Years of Growth and Expansion.*

The period from 1850 to 1881 had been one of steady growth for the River congregation. Until the year 1881 the congregation had followed the practice of holding worship services in the homes of the various members. In 1881 this practice was discontinued, and four plain meetinghouses were erected in which the worship services were thereafter held. There have been numerous traditions as to why this was done, but the simple fact is that the community had grown so large that it was a burden upon any one member of the brotherhood to have the service in his home. This burden was added to by the fact that in those early days

> A meal was always served by the owner of the house before the people went home, and as oftentimes several hundred people were present, all of whom were welcome to come to the tables, whether members of the church or not, it is easy to see that to have preaching at one's house was quite a tax on the resources of such as were so honored.[75]

There are also well-founded traditions which say that the practice of serving meals was discontinued approximately ten years before the meetinghouses were built and that it was discontinued because so many outsiders who were not members of the church came simply for the meal.[76] Jonas B. Miller, minister at Grantsville, is of the opinion that the real reason for building the meetinghouses was that large numbers of the congregation were absenting themselves from the church services, particularly when it was held in the smaller homes, in order to avoid the overcrowded conditions. When the ministers saw this, they determined to do something about it, and accordingly the meetinghouses were built.[77] All four of the meetinghouses were of the simplest possible construction and all were built in the same year. They were scattered throughout the Casselman River region in such fashion as to be centrally located for the northern and southern ends of the settlement. Of the two meetinghouses in the southern end of the settlement, one was erected about a mile north of Grantsville, which became known as the Miller Meetinghouse because it was located on the farm of Jacob S. Miller.

[74] *Ibid.* XXII, No. 13 (July, 1885) 205.
[75] Blackburn, Koontz, and Welfley, *op. cit.* II, 503.
[76] From the card files of Dr. Alta Schrock, Goshen, Ind., copied by the writer in July, 1950. Dr. Schrock received this information from an aged woman who claims to have been present when the last meal was served at an Amish church service in Somerset County about 1870.
[77] From a personal interview with Jonas B. Miller, minister at Grantsville, Md., in July, 1949.

The other in the south end of the settlement was erected near the Cross Roads schoolhouse and became known as the Hershberger Meetinghouse, because it stood on or near the farm of Daniel Hershberger, a minister in the congregation. Today this is known as the Flag Run Meetinghouse.

Of the two meetinghouses in the north end of the settlement one was located near the village of St. Paul, and the other near the village of Summit Mills. All four structures are in use at the present time. After the erection of these four meetinghouses in 1881, it would appear that the River congregation should have forged ahead in another period of growth. Unfortunately differences of opinion led to strife and division only fourteen years later.

4. *The Division of 1895.*

This unfortunate incident is now known among the Amish of this region as "the split of 1895." The exact reasons for this division remain something of a mystery, even though it occurred during the life span of many who are yet alive. Probably the reasons were multiple and originated as a result of personality clashes among the ministers. It is an established fact that some of the young people had started attending "a sort of teachers' normal school"[78] at Springs, Pennsylvania, in preparation to teach in the public schools. This school was conducted by Daniel H. Bender, a Mennonite minister, who became very popular with the young Amish people. Among his students was a young man who later became Bishop C. W. Bender of Salisbury, Pennsylvania, and a companion, Milton E. Hershberger, deceased husband of the informant.[79]

This new interest in education on the part of the rising generation raised a storm of protest among some of the older more conservative people. These now approached Bishop Joel Miller and his co-minister, Jacob S. Miller, and requested them to forbid this practice. This the two ministers, both of whom lived in Maryland, refused to do, since they saw nothing harmful or sinful in attending a normal school which was conducted by a Mennonite minister.[80]

It is also an established fact that before the controversy ended in division, the matter of having Sunday school had become an issue. Sunday-school classes had been started not only on the Maryland side, but also on the Pennsylvania side, which appears to have had most of the conservatively minded people. As the dispute wore on,

[78] Hershberger letter, *op. cit.*, Feb. 17, 1950.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*

the conservatively minded folk demanded that Sunday-school classes be discontinued and attendance at the normal schools forbidden, as their price for the restoration of harmony.[81] That these two items were at the center of the trouble in 1895 is further substantiated by the fact that they remain prominent in the memory of two present-day Amish bishops, Lewis M. Beachy of Oakland, Maryland, and Alvin M. Beachy of Topeka, Indiana. Both men are sons of the deceased Bishop Manassa Beachy and were young men when the division occurred. They both recall Sunday school and attendance at high schools or normal schools as the chief source of trouble. Lewis M. Beachy is of the opinion that there was also some difficulty over the interpretation of the "ban" and some questions concerning dress, such as the cutting of the hair and the trimming of the beard among the men. But he states that these were not the real cause of the trouble.[82]

By the fall of 1894 the feeling had become so bitter that no communion service was held in the Casselman River district. The following spring on June 2, 1895, Bishop Joel Miller decided not to withhold the blessing of the communion service from his congregation for a longer period of time. On the above-mentioned date services were held at the Miller Meetinghouse (later Maple Glen), and about sixty-three members partook of the Lord's Supper.[83] In order to avoid any further aggravation of the strife Bishop Miller strictly observed the boundary line of the districts and allowed no one from the Pennsylvania side to participate in the communion service. But the Pennsylvania brethren were unyielding. They would not have Bishop Joel conduct their communion service unless and until he instituted the reforms which they had requested; and their own bishop, Manassa Beachy, was too ill to lead them. On June 5, 1895, he died. His obituary states that "he had been sick for some time and was deranged."[84]

Thereafter the Pennsylvania brethren were without a shepherd, but they would not have Joel Miller assist them. Instead they

[81] J. B. Miller, interview, *op. cit.*, July, 1949. In this interview J. B. Miller stated that in the summer of 1894 some young people on the Pennsylvania side had secured the permission of Bishop Manassa Beachy to conduct Sunday-school classes. These were then voluntarily discontinued on the Pennsylvania side during the school year 1894-95, but not on the Maryland side.

[82] Alvin M. Beachy, letter dated March 3, 1950, Topeka, Ind. Lewis M. Beachy, letter dated March 6, 1950, Oakland, Md.

[83] From memoranda compiled by Joel J. Miller and copied by Jonas B. Miller, his son, in 1934 at Grantsville, Md. Made available to the writer through the courtesy of the latter in July, 1949.

[84] Obituary column, *Herald of Truth* (July, 1895) 207. The letter written by L. M. Beachy of Oakland, Md., states that Manassa was paralyzed before his death, which may indicate that he had a stroke.

asked two men from a distance to come and conduct their communion service. The two men who came were Joseph Witmer of Davis County, Indiana, and Cornelius S. Beachy of Midland, Virginia. On June 26, 1895, these two ministers conducted a communion service for the Pennsylvania Amish in the Flag Run Meetinghouse. They were not as considerate as Miller had been four weeks earlier, for they now declared the boundary between the districts to be null and void and allowed thirty-four members formerly numbered with the Maryland congregation to participate in the service.[85]

On November 3, 1895, Joel Miller's congregation again held a communion service at the Miller Meetinghouse, and this time they did not so rigidly honor the boundary line of the two districts. As a result of this more lenient policy fifty-five people who were formerly numbered with the Pennsylvania side were admitted to the communion service of the Maryland congregation.

The Pennsylvania brethren again retaliated by calling ministers Witmer and C. S. Beachy to conduct the communion service for those who were dissatisfied with Miller's leadership. This service was held November 17, 1895, in the Flag Run Meetinghouse, at which time Moses D. Yoder, who had formerly been a minister on the Maryland side, was ordained by the visiting ministers as bishop in the Pennsylvania district of the River congregation.[86] Thus the River congregation, which had endured for more than a century and had survived the hardships of pioneer days as a true "community in Christ," found itself a "house divided."

The Pennsylvania Amish continued to have full fellowship with the Old Order Amish in other areas of the United States, while Miller's congregation became independent and remained so until 1912, when it affiliated with the Conservative Amish Mennonite Conference. The second annual meeting of this conference was held at the Maple Glen Meetinghouse near Grantsville on May 27 and 28, 1912.[87] The congregation has been active in the conference since that time and has grown in strength. A complete history of the Amish in the Casselman River region should devote more space to the growth and development of the Conservative Amish Mennonite Conference than the present work allows.

[85] Joel J. Miller, memorandum, *op. cit.*, July, 1949.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *History of the Amish Mennonite Conference (Conservative)* (Scottdale, 1925) 2. No author indicated on this pamphlet, which is a compilation of the proceedings of the conference, covering the period 1910-25.

After the division of 1895 the Pennsylvania Amish were faced with a new problem, namely, what should be their attitude toward members who left their congregation to affiliate with the Miller congregation, but against whom no other offense could be charged. Earlier practice in Somerset County, as seen by the Discipline of 1809, had been to regard as apostate persons all members who left the Amish Church to join other churches, and all such were to be considered as subjects for the "ban."[88] Apparently there was some difficulty in enforcing this decision, for the first article of the Discipline of 1837 reads:

> It is noted that decline has set in because the ordinance of God in the matter of the ban is greatly neglected. Decided that separation and shunning are to be practiced toward all disobedient ones without regard of persons, whether man or woman.[89]

The Pennsylvania Amish were now confronted with a situation that had not previously existed in the county and was not covered by earlier practice. Previously there had been only one Amish Church in the Casselman River region. After 1895 there were two. Earlier disciplines had dealt with those who left the Amish Church to unite with other denominations, usually the Mennonites, but not with a situation such as the Pennsylvania Amish now confronted. There is reliable evidence that at the time of M. D. Yoder's ordination to the office of bishop he wanted the old ruling to apply in the new situation, and that Joseph Witmer, who ordained him, would not consent to this. However, after Witmer returned to his home in Indiana, he was frequently consulted by Yoder, and his advice was so interpreted by Yoder to the congregation that he succeeded in getting their unanimous vote that all who left the Pennsylvania Amish to join the congregation led by Joel Miller near Grantsville should be placed under the strict "ban."[90] Naturally this ruling

[88] Bender, *MQR* VIII, No. 2 (April, 1934) 90-93.

[89] *Ibid.*, 93-95.

[90] This information is gleaned from the file marked "Letters of Importance," found among the personal effects of Moses M. Beachy after his death in 1946. He was bishop of the River congregation from 1916 to 1946. In one letter dated April 19, 1923, J. F. Swartzendruber of Kalona, Iowa, writes that he had heard Witmer say both in private and in public that he had opposed the use of the strict "ban" against those who left the Pennsylvania Amish to join the Miller congregation when there were no other charges against them. He further states that Witmer was much distressed when he learned that Yoder had acted contrary to his advice.

Another letter dated May 4, 1920, was written to the late R. M. Beachy of Meyersdale, Pa., by the above Swartzendruber of Kalona, Iowa. The letter, which is written in German, was a reply to a letter which R. M. Beachy had addressed to him earlier. Beachy's letter is no longer extant, but it is plain to see from Swartzendruber's letter that Beachy had asked him either to confirm or deny the report that Witmer had not agreed to the strict "ban" at the time of M. D. Yoder's ordination. Swartzendruber confirms this report with great emphasis in the following words:

"Ja ich kann volles Zeugnisz geben zu dem was du schreibst dasz Peter Breneman euch erzählt hat. Ich hörte Witmer dasselbe zweimal sehr kräftig vor des Versamm-

could not well be applied to those who were members of Miller's congregation from the beginning of the strife that ended in division, so it was agreed that only those who left after a certain date should be considered subjects for the strict "ban."[91]

From the available evidence it appears that M. D. Yoder won the congregation to his point of view either by deliberate misrepresentation or else through serious misunderstanding of the advice received from Witmer through correspondence. In either case he had temporarily swung the congregation to his point of view. But a peace secured in this manner was destined to be short-lived, as later events were soon to reveal.

D. Daughter Colonies of the Somerset County Amish

1. *The Holmes County, Ohio, Settlement*

Before going on to the later events referred to above it seems appropriate to discuss briefly the role which Somerset County, Pennsylvania, played in the westward migration of the Amish. Not only was Somerset County the first daughter colony of the old Berks County settlement, but it was also the starting point for the later westward migrations of the Amish.[92] The Amish pioneers who settled in Somerset County were a restless lot. The virgin forests of the Somerset County hills had scarcely been brought under culti-

lung sagen. Natürlich zu zwei verschiedenen mal, und zuvor hat er mir dasselbe in einem privat Gespräch, sehr kräftig und eifrich gesagt, in gegenwart von anderen mehr."

A third letter written by the above mentioned Beachy to Mr. and Mrs. Jonas Kaufman at Arthur, Ill., on March 1, 1925, refers to a visit which he and his first wife had with the Peter Brenemans while on a trip to Iowa in 1905. The letter states that during the course of conversation Breneman, an Amish minister, asked Beachy who had introduced the strict "ban" among the Amish of Somerset County, Pa., whereupon Beachy informed him that they had done it themselves. This seemed to come as a surprise to Breneman, who said that Witmer had been severely criticized for this action while on a visit to Iowa, at which time he denied any responsibility for the action taken and said that the unanimous vote of the congregation had been secured nearly a year after he had last visited the Pennsylvania district of the River congregation.

R. M. Beachy was able to confirm this denial of Witmer from a previous conversation with Joseph Kemp of Indiana, who had come to Somerset County to visit. Kemp then asked how they, the Pennsylvania Amish, conducted themselves toward those who joined the Miller congregation. Beachy replied that ban and avoidance are to be observed in all such cases. Kemp then asked who instituted this and was told by Beachy that since Witmer had served them for some time in the capacity of bishop, he must have been responsible. Kemp then shook his head and said, "I know Witmer. If you will investigate that matter, I think you will find that Witmer did not advise you to take such steps." A record of this conversation together with other events was also found in the M. M. Beachy file. Apparently R. M. Beachy had intended to write a brief history concerning the division of 1927, but was prevented from completing it by ill health.

[91] From a personal interview with Miss Annie M. Beachy of Salisbury, Pa., in July, 1950. Eldest daughter of the late M. M. Beachy, Annie was born in 1895, and recalls that the bitterness caused by the division was still a topic of conversation when she was a young girl.

[92] C. H. Smith, *The Mennonites* (Berne, 1920) 216.

vation when these pioneers were on the march again, this time westward into the Ohio Territory.

It has not been possible thus far to identify positively the first Amish to arrive in Ohio. It is known from various sources that in the year 1808 a Jacob Miller, sometimes called "Yockle" Miller, and his two sons, Jacob and Henry settled in Holmes County, Ohio, near the present village of Sugarcreek.[93] This date and the characters are well established, but the identity of Jacob Miller, father of Jacob and Henry, remains shrouded in mystery. One tradition says that at the time he left for Ohio he was already a minister in Somerset County. Another tradition says that he was a bishop in Somerset County. The only Jacob Miller in Somerset County who is known to have been a minister settled near the present village of Springs in 1781. This Jacob Miller was the father of Benedict Miller, who later became bishop of the River congregation. There is no written evidence that Benedict's father had ever been a bishop in Somerset County, and it is therefore possible that the Jacob Miller who went to Ohio in 1808 with his two sons, Jacob and Henry, was also the father of Benedict.

An earlier reference to Benedict Miller cited a tradition which refers to him as riding to Holmes County on horseback to minister to the Amish community there. This would not have been necessary if the elder Jacob Miller had himself been a bishop. Another tradition connected with Benedict Miller states that he himself had planned to remove to Ohio, but that he was ordained to the office of bishop in the River congregation before he was able to carry out his plans. After his ordination it is said that he felt he should remain at his post of duty, and he told the elder Jacob and his two sons to proceed without him.[94]

A note from L. A. Miller of Arthur, Illinois, gives the information that the elder Jacob assisted his two sons in the erection of two rude log cabins, after which he returned to Somerset County on horseback and then again returned to Ohio. In the fall of 1808 he returned to Somerset County and the following year moved to Ohio himself. L. A. Miller states that this Jacob Miller was his great-grandfather on his mother's side, and identifies him as "Bishop Yockle Miller."[95] Whoever this Jacob Miller may have been, he was apparently the officially appointed leader of an explora-

[93] *Ibid.*, 216. See also J. D. Guengerich, "Einige forkünden der ersten Amische Ansiedlung in Ohio," *Herold der Wahrheit* (Nov. 15, 1912) 306. Published at Scottdale.

[94] From the card files of Dr. Alta Schrock, Goshen, Ind., July, 1950.

[95] L. A. Miller, letter dated April 8, 1950.

tion party that had been sent out by the Amish of Somerset County in the summer of 1807 to locate a place for a colony in Iowa.

This party traveled down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh and up the Mississippi to Iowa where observations on several sites were made but no decision reached upon a place for settlement. On their return the party traveled overland through Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. They passed through present-day Holmes County and were impressed by its fertile valleys, its springs of clear cold water and the general resemblance of the region to their home in Pennsylvania enticed them.[96]

Apparently the findings of this exploration party resulted in Jacob Miller's decision to move to Ohio the following year.

In the spring of 1810 Susanna Miller, daughter of Jacob Miller, became the first child to be born of Amish parents in the state of Ohio. On Jan. 12, 1811, there was born to Mr. and Mrs. Jonas Miller, who had come from Somerset County a year earlier, a son whom they named Moses, and who was the first male child to be born of Amish parents in Ohio. In 1835 this same Moses Miller was ordained as a minister in the Amish Church, and twelve years later he was ordained a bishop in the same denomination.[97]

Although the pioneer settlers were harassed by the Indians for some years after permanent settlement began, the hills and valleys produced abundant crops and famine was unknown. Among the early arrivals in Holmes County were Jonas Miller, Jacob and Joseph Mast, Charles Yoder, and Jacob Stutzman, members of the Amish faith from Somerset County, Pennsylvania.[98]

The first Amish church service in Ohio was conducted at Shanesville in Tuscarawas County by Jacob Miller in 1810.[99] There is no indication in our sources at to what type of service this was. Only one of our sources states positively that this Jacob Miller was a bishop at the time he moved to Ohio. If he was not a bishop, it is possible that the Amish bishop, Benedict Miller of the River congregation, did occasionally visit the Ohio colony to administer communion or perform marriages or any of the other duties usually assigned to a bishop in the Amish Church. As the bishop residing nearest the new colony, he would logically have been the man to whom the colony would appeal in any situation with which the local ministers were unable to cope. While the records of those early years of the Amish in Ohio are very fragmentary, the results of

[96] L. R. Fletcher, "The Amish People of Holmes County, Ohio; A study in Human Geography," an unpublished Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 8-9.

[97] Guengerich, *Herold der Wahrheit* (Nov. 15, 1912) 306.

[98] Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 42. Source given as H. P. Karsh, in *Standard Atlas of Holmes County, Ohio.*

[99] *Ibid.*, 9.

their pioneer efforts are still bearing fruit. Today the colony which was started by Jacob Miller and his two sons has grown until it now numbers approximately 3,500 and embraces the eastern third of Holmes County and adjacent parts of Wayne, Stark, and Coshocton counties.[100]

2. *The Indiana Colonies*

Fortunately the records of the first settlement of the Amish in Elkhart and Lagrange counties, Indiana, have been better preserved than those of the Holmes County, Ohio, settlement. As frequently happens among the Amish, this is due to a keen interest in family history. The Amish have produced more family histories than any other type of literature since their arrival in America. It is to this interest in personal family history and to the larger interest in general Amish Mennonite history that the writer is indebted for much of the information which here follows.

It was in the year 1840 that the action was taken which was later to result in the coming of the Amish to Elkhart and Lagrange counties. In that year the Conemaugh Amish congregation located in the vicinity of the present city of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, sent four men to the West on a tour of investigation.[101] These men were Daniel S. Miller, Joseph Miller—a minister, Nathan Smiley, and Joseph Speicher.[102] These four explorers followed much the same route that had been followed by the exploration party of the River congregation in 1807. Like their kinsmen in 1807, these Amishmen of 1840 went first to Pittsburgh, where they took a boat down the Ohio River.

They went by boat all the way to Cairo, Illinois, whence they proceeded along the Mississippi to Burlington, Iowa. Then they traveled by foot through Henry, Washington, and Johnson counties in Iowa. Returning through Illinois they stopped at a small town called Chicago, where they crossed Lake Michigan and entered the St. Joseph River by boat. The latter part of their trip to Indiana they made on foot. The land around Goshen appealed strongly to them. With a favorable report on Elkhart County, Indiana, they returned to Somerset County, Pennsylvania.[103]

As a result of the report brought back by these four explorers four families left the Conemaugh congregation to settle in Elkhart County in the spring of 1841. Bishop Eli J. Bontrager of Shipshe-

[100] *Ibid.*, 11.

[101] E. J. Bontrager, letter dated April 2, 1950, Shipshewana, Ind. Bontrager states that Daniel Miller was a brother to Joseph Miller, signed as minister of the Conemaugh congregation in the Discipline of 1837.

[102] I. S. Johns, "Early Amish Settlers in Indiana and Clinton Frame Church History," *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* III, No. 3 (September, 1942) 1.

[103] *Ibid.*, 1.

wana, Indiana, tells the story of their journey in such an interesting fashion that it seems best to let him tell it in his own words.

The first Amish in the settlement in Elkhart and Lagrange counties came from Somerset County, Pennsylvania, from near Johnstown. Johnstown was founded by a certain Joseph Johns or (Schantz). The daughter of this Joseph Johns became the mother of the heads of two of the first four families that settled here, viz., Joseph and Christian Bontrager.

On June 3, 1841, four families left their former homes to settle in Indiana. They were Joseph Miller and family, his brother Daniel Miller and family, consisting of his second wife and several stepchildren besides his own, deacon Joseph (known as Sep) Bontrager and family, and his brother Christian and family, a total of twenty-four souls.

They came with four two-horse wagons and three one-horse rigs. They had to pass to the north of the almost impassable Black Swamp through southern Michigan, passing through White Pigeon and through Middlebury to Goshen, Indiana, where they settled temporarily. They later settled farther east in Lagrange County. The following spring eight more families came from the northern part of Somerset County to this new settlement. In the fall of this year, 1842, eight families arrived from Holmes County, Ohio.

In the following years many more came from the vicinity of Johnstown and from Ohio, so that by 1876 there were three districts. A desire for cheaper and more level land was the main cause for emigration from Pennsylvania to Indiana although some disagreement within their colony was a minor cause.

In 1890 there was still a small colony of Amish left in the Johnstown vicinity consisting of about a dozen members, including one minister, and he was an ordained bishop. (See footnote 13.) Several years later the colony was extinct, through death and a few leaving the country.[104]

Ira S. Johns in the article referred to above states that the original party stopped for one week in Holmes County, after which they proceeded to Goshen over the route indicated by Bontrager. According to Johns this party of twenty-four souls arrived in Goshen on June 29, 1841, after twenty-six days of travel.[105]

The Bontrager letter stated that these first settlers remained only temporarily at Goshen. This is supported by the obituary of Joseph Miller, which says that he died in Lagrange County on October 12, 1877. The account goes on to say that he was ordained as bishop in 1848,

which office he faithfully fulfilled until his end, in teaching, establishing new congregations, and ordaining ministers in the vineyard of the Lord. He was the first Amish preacher in this section.[106]

This original Amish settlement in Indiana has since grown to be one of the larger ones in the United States, even though many Amish of this settlement became Mennonites when the Amish

104 E. J. Bontrager, letter dated June 6, 1950, Shipshewana, Ind., when he was in his eighty-third year. It is known from the earlier study of the Conemaugh congregation that the bishop referred to in this letter was Moses B. Miller.

105 Johns, *op. cit.*, 2.

106 Obituary column, *Herald of Truth* XIV, No. 11, 181.

Mennonites and the Mennonites of the Indiana-Michigan Conference merged in 1917.[107] The Old Order Amish in this area are at present divided into thirty-one districts and number about 2,790 baptized adults.[108]

3. *The Johnson County, Iowa, Colony*

In the first westward movement of the Amish from Somerset County the pioneers were largely supplied by the River congregation. In the second westward migration of the Amish from this territory the pioneers were supplied by the Conemaugh congregation. These were given in such large numbers that their migration was a major contributing factor to the extinction of the colony in about 1900. In the third westward migration of the Amish from Somerset County, the River congregation again provided the earliest settlers. Some of these had, however, moved to the River congregation from the Glades congregation at an earlier date, while a few moved directly from the Glades congregation in northern Somerset County to what is now Johnson County, Iowa. Among these Johnson County pioneers was Joseph J. Swartzendruber from Allegheny County, Maryland. Allegheny and Garrett counties, Maryland, were an integral part of the Amish settlement in the Casselman River region, though they lay south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

In the summer of 1845, four years after the Elkhart and Lagrange counties settlement, Joseph J. Swartzendruber and his half-brother, Daniel P. Guengerich of Fairfield County, Ohio, went on a land exploration trip to the Iowa territory. They traveled by steamboat as far as Keokuk, Iowa, and then overland to the vicinity of Kalona where they bought some land.

Joseph Swartzendruber then became discouraged and in the fall of 1846 went back to Grantsville, Maryland, his old home. The following winter he married. His mother-in-law did not want them to move away while she yet lived, so they settled on the Forks Mountain in Maryland and cleared a farm which caused much hard labor. His Hickory Grove tract in Iowa lay idle till in the year 1856 when he moved to Iowa and occupied it.[109]

The first Amish church in Iowa was formally organized in the spring of 1851 with twenty-seven members. Eleven families from Maryland (Casselman River region) had moved into the settlement in that year.[110] The organization of a congregation in

[107] Johns, *op. cit.*, 2.
[108] E. J. Bontrager, letter dated August 29, 1951, Shipshewana, Ind.
[109] S. D. Guengerich, "A Brief History of the Amish Settlement in Johnson County, Iowa," *MQR* III, No. 4 (October, 1929) 243-45.
[110] *Ibid.*, 243-45.

1851 was made possible by the arrival of Jacob Swartzendruber, who had signed the Discipline of 1837 as a minister of the Glades congregation in Somerset County.[111] This Jacob Swartzendruber had been ordained as a minister in the Amish Church at Mengeringhausen, Waldeck, Germany, in 1826 when he was only twenty-six years old. He served as a minister there until 1833, when he emigrated to Somerset County as a married man.[112] Here he remained until 1840 when he moved to the vicinity of Grantsville, and became a minister in the River congregation. In 1851 he moved to Johnson County, where he resided at the time of his death in 1868.[113] In 1852 Jacob Swartzendruber was ordained bishop of the Amish in Johnson County and thus became the first Amish bishop to be ordained in the state of Iowa.[114] From the time of his birth in Germany in 1800 until the time of his death in Johnson County in 1868, Jacob Swartzendruber had thrice become a pioneer for the sake of his religious convictions.

In 1866 Abner Yoder, who had formerly been a bishop in the Glades congregation in Somerset County, also joined the Iowa settlement.[115] Thus for a period of two years Jacob Swartzendruber, who had served as minister in the Glades congregation under the leadership of Christian Yoder, Sr., as bishop, and later under his son Christian Yoder, Jr., labored in Iowa with Abner Yoder, great-grandson of the Amish bishop under whom Swartzendruber had begun his ministry in America.[116] There is evidence that these two men knew each other well and they occasionally conferred with each other on matters of importance. Swartzendruber in his epistle of 1865, addressed to the Amish ministers' conference in Holmes County, Ohio, wished to have Abner Yoder's opinion on certain questions that are dealt with in the epistle.[117] Abner Yoder continued to serve as bishop of the Amish in Johnson County until his death in 1883.[118]

Today this Amish colony in Iowa, which in 1851 had twenty-seven members, has grown in size until it consists of six districts and

111 Bender, *MQR* VIII, No. 2 (April, 1934) 95.
112 Bender, *MQR* XX, No. 3 (July, 1946) 222.
113 *Ibid.*, 222.
114 Swartzendruber letter, *op. cit.*, March 20, 1950. Note: The H. S. Bender publication referred to above says that the Amish Church in Johnson County, Iowa, was organized in 1864. However, D. B. Swartzendruber was a great-grandson of Jacob, and the information he sent was gathered from personal notes left by his great-grandfather. The earlier date would seem to be the correct one for the establishment of the Amish Church in Iowa.
115 Bender, *MQR* XX, No. 3 (July, 1946) 225.
116 Swartzendruber letter, *op. cit.*, March 20, 1950.
117 Bender, *ibid.*
118 *Ibid.*, 225.

about 1000 baptized adults.[119] Besides the Old Order Amish in the area, there are several thriving congregations of the Conservative Amish Mennonite Conference and one congregation of the newly formed "Beachy Amish Mennonite Churches."

4. *The Moultrie and Douglas Counties, Illinois, Colony*

In the first and second westward migrations of the Amish from Somerset County the River and Conemaugh congregations supplied the pioneers for the new frontiers. In the third westward migration the Glades and River congregations shared in furnishing the pioneers, apparently the largest number coming from the River congregation. The second and third migrations were fatal to the Conemaugh and Glades congregations, or at least contributed to their extinction at a later date. The River congregation survived to provide pioneers for a fourth westward migration and remains in existence at the present time, though the original tree has been split into three different branches.

The fourth westward migration of the Somerset County Amish began in 1864 when two men in the River congregation tired of the rather strenuous labor which this region had always exacted from those who would be successful farmers. These two men were Bishop Joel Beachy of Grantsville, Maryland, and Moses Yoder of Summit Mills, Pennsylvania.[120] Grantsville is at the extreme southern end of the territory covered by the River congregation, while Summit Mills is in the northern end of the settlement. It will be recalled that Joel Beachy had been ordained a bishop on the Maryland side of the River congregation in 1854. Moses Yoder was the son of Yost H. Yoder, and Yost H. may have been the minister who signed his name to the Discipline of 1837[121] along with Benedict Miller and Hannes Gingerich as ministers in the River congregation. The latter, however, is a conjecture for which no written evidence has been found.

When Beachy and Yoder started westward in June of 1864, Beachy was thinking of Wisconsin as a possible home and Yoder, of Missouri. It was not until their return that they decided to settle in the state of Illinois. They arrived at Pana, Illinois, on a Sunday, where they rested. During the day they walked from Pana to Onega, and noticed that the country appeared to be fertile. On Monday

[119] J. M. Miller, letter dated Aug. 2, 1951, Kalona, Iowa.

[120] From an unpublished manuscript giving an account of the Moultrie and Douglas counties, Ill., settlement written by L. A. Miller of Arthur, Ill., in 1922, and sent to the writer by request in March, 1950.

[121] L. A. Miller, letter dated March 8, 1950, Arthur, Ill.

they took a train to Mattoon, Illinois, and from there walked a distance of fourteen miles to Arcola. Here they met Joel Smith, who took them on a tour of the county. The two men liked what they saw of the terrain, but decided not to make any purchase until they had seen the same territory in late summer.[122]

Their tour of investigation over, Beachy and Yoder returned to their homes in Pennsylvania and Maryland, where they remained until September. Then they returned to Illinois along with Daniel Miller and Daniel Otto, both from Summit Mills. On this second trip they traveled west of Arcola to the west side of the river to the region known as the "West Prairie." Here Daniel Miller bought a farm from Isaac Cosler and Moses Yoder, which he rented to Daniel Otto, and then returned to Somerset County. In November of the same year he returned to pay for the purchase which he had made, and then decided to buy the Henry Cosler farm in addition. Moses Yoder, Daniel Miller, and Daniel Otto, with their families, settled permanently in this new locality in the spring of 1865, arriving in Illinois on March 3 of that year.[123]

Bishop Joel Beachy never moved to Illinois permanently. It is not known whether he returned at all after this second exploration trip of 1864. He died at his old home near Grantsville on June 8, 1894, at the age of seventy-eight.[124] His body was buried in the family cemetery where his grave may still be seen on the farm now owned by Irvin E. Yoder of near Grantsville.

While Joel Beachy himself never moved to Illinois, his son, Daniel, did. The time of his removal to the present-day Arthur, Illinois, is not known. It is known that he was ordained as a minister there in 1881 and as a bishop in 1885. In 1922 he was the oldest minister and bishop then living in the community.[125]

By 1927 only two of the first Amish immigrants to Illinois remained alive,[126] but the colony which they had founded had grown to be larger than the colony from whence they had come. Emigrants had kept coming to this new Amish colony from various places in such large numbers that it was necessary to divide the settlement into two districts in 1888. One district was known as the D. J.

122 L. A. Miller, manuscript, *op. cit.*, 1.

123 *Ibid.*, 1-2.

124 Gnagey, *op. cit.*, 174-75.

125 L. A. Miller, manuscript, *op. cit.*, 4.

126 Obituary column, *Herold der Wahrheit* (April, 1927) 240. Obituary of Daniel M. Yoder, son of Moses Yoder, immigrant of 1865 from Summit Mills, Pa. Daniel was born July 22, 1852, in Pennsylvania and came to Illinois when a lad of thirteen. Levi Yoder, a brother, and Mrs. Ben Schrock are mentioned as the two remaining immigrants in 1927.

Beachy or Moultrie County district, while the other was known as the D. J. Plank or Douglas County district. By December 7, 1902, it was found necessary to divide the Douglas County district a second time, and the same was true for the Moultrie County district in 1906. In 1922 the northern half of Douglas County district was again divided. The colony had grown from three families to eight districts in a period of less than sixty years.[127] Today there are eight districts in this territory which are served by eight bishops, eight deacons and sixteen ministers.[128] The exact number of baptized adults is apparently unknown.

The capacity of the Somerset County Amish for pioneering was truly remarkable. When it is remembered that their pioneering days lasted for more than half a century, 1808 to 1865, during which time the Somerset County Amish were pioneers in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois, the wonder is not that two congregations in Somerset County should have become extinct, but rather that any should have survived. One congregation did survive, however, and it was also to play a pioneering role among the Amish of America, though it did so without changing its geographical location. This congregation has since become the mother of the various Beachy Amish Mennonite churches that are scattered through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Virginia.

[127] L. A. Miller, manuscript, *op. cit.*, 3.
[128] L. A. Miller, letter dated Aug. 3, 1951.

THE AMISH COMMUNITY AT ATLANTIC, PENNSYLVANIA

MAURICE A. MOOK*

Although the history of the two largest Amish settlements in Pennsylvania, those in Lancaster and Mifflin counties, is known in general outline[1], knowledge of the origin and history of the smaller and geographically more marginal Amish communities of the state remains largely in the minds and memories of the present and former members of these settlements. Information gathered during a visit in August and September, 1950, to the Amish at Atlantic, in southwestern Crawford County, Pennsylvania, may therefore be of interest. Perhaps especially so, inasmuch as aside from the ministers lists published annually in Raber's *Calender* and in the *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory,* and apart from the occasional letters from Atlantic Amish scribes which have appeared irregularly and infrequently in *The Budget,* nothing concerning this community seems to have been published.

Visits were paid to ten of the twenty-five Old Order Amish homes in the district and talks were had with twenty-four of the adult members of the church. The writer's longest and most frequent visits were with Jonathan J. and Susan (Gingerich) Byler, Andrew G. and Anna Mary (Byler) Byler, Emanuel J. and Mary (Miller) Fisher, and Joe M. and Mary (Wengerd) Miller. These individuals are the principal sources of information here offered concerning the history of the community. Sources for the history of the church were Bishop Eli J. Troyer and Preachers Ben A. Raber[2] and Neil D. Miller. In addition to the foregoing the writer wishes to thank Mary Ellen (King) Byler, Freeman J. Coblentz, Noah T. Detweiler, Sam A. Hochstetler, Iva J. (Wengerd) Miller, Uri D. and Lizzie Ann (Byler) Mullet, Katie Ann (Miller) Raber, Monroe D. and Mary Ann (Hostetler) Shrock, and Alvin M. and Susie

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[1] Calvin George Bachman, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County (Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings,* Vol. 49) 1942, 51-59; Walter M. Kollmorgen, *The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Rural Life Studies,* No. 4, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.) 1942, 1-22; Joseph W. Yoder, *Rosanna's Boys* (Huntington, 1948) ch. 1, "Big Valley," 1-20; Samuel W. Peachey, *Amish of Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County, Pa.* (Scottdale, 1930) ch. 3, 27-43.

[2] Preacher Ben Raber died in December, 1950. The *Diener zum Buch* vacancy was filled in May, 1951, when the lot fell on Andy G. Byler. There were nine in the lot at this time, the largest lot in the history of the Atlantic Amish Church.

Ann (Miller) Shrock, for facts concerning their family histories and in some instances also for facts concerning the history of the community in general. He appreciates the friendships made with Amish individuals during this visit and expresses his obligation and thanks to those who talked to him concerning the history, membership, and customs of their group.[3]

This Old Order Amish community surrounds the town of Atlantic in southwestern Crawford County, which, according to local inhabitants, has an estimated present population of about 110 persons. It is located two miles east of north-south Highway 18, which in this part of the state connects Hartstown in Crawford County with Greenville in Mercer County. Atlantic is about 20 miles southwest of Meadville, the county seat of Crawford County, and ten miles northeast of Greenville. Amish farms surround the town, farther to the north, east, and south than to the west. The community is not far from the Amish of Geauga County in eastern Ohio, which supplied the first Amish families migrating to Crawford County in 1924.

The Atlantic Amish community as of September, 1950, included 25 families.[4] The family names represented were Byler (9 of the 25 families), Coblentz (1 family), Detweiler (2 families), Fisher (2 families), Hochstetler (1 family), Miller (2 families), Mullet (1 family), Raber (2 families), Shrock (3 families), Troyer (1 family), and Yoder (1 family). All but one of these family names occur among the informants previously mentioned, for an attempt was made to have each family represented by one or more informants and information for the single exceptional family was secured through in-law relatives. The nine present Byler families include the descendants of two families who came to the Atlantic community in the fourth year of its settlement, the family of Enoch A. and Mary Ellen (King) Byler having come in March, 1928, and that

[3] In September, 1951, this paper in practically its present form was read and discussed with five prominent members of the Atlantic Amish community: Bishop Eli. J. Troyer, Preacher Andy G. Byler, Deacon Ervin E. Byler, Jonathan J. Byler, and Emanuel J. Fisher. This group includes respectively three of the four officials of the church, the oldest living member of the community in 1951, and the man who with his family has resided longest in this community. These men verified the facts in this paper and approved its publication in substantially its present form. The only paragraph that has been added since this discussion with these men is the third from the last one, which deals with the establishment of the Amish school. The school building was built that summer and its classes met for the first time the month after the date of this group interview.

[4] Unless otherwise indicated the data of the present paper pertain to the community as of September, 1950. The author has made several subsequent short visits, but there was no opportunity on these occasions to gather detailed data. For comparative purposes it is also felt better to hold the data to a year of federal census enumeration.

of Jonathan J. and Susan (Gingerich) Byler having arrived in the fall of 1928. Enoch Byler died May 17, 1949, but the other three members of these early families were still living in the Atlantic community in 1950.

These two families and their descendants are numerically the nuclei of the present community. Both Mary Ellen Byler and J. J. and Susan Byler have great-grandchildren in Atlantic at the present time. The community population thus has included four generations within the twenty years 1928-48, a somewhat unusual statistic from the standpoint of local community population growth. Andy J. Byler, Sr., formerly of Atlantic but since 1942 a resident of the Mercer County, Pennsylvania, Amish district, is also the great-grandfather of a member of the Atlantic community. Thus Andy J. Byler, Sr., Mary Ellen Byler, and Jonathan J. and Susan Byler may be considered the living great-grandparents of the Atlantic Amish community, and of these four, three still reside at Atlantic. This is a fact worth noting, for it is a mark of community stability and the latter in turn is a contradiction of the frequently met-with "English" misimpression of Amish nomadism and community instability.

Another frequently encountered popular misconception of Amish community life is that the Amish are highly inbred because there are relatively few family names among them. Thus, locally the statement is sometimes heard that "the Bylers are all related to each other." This is an "English" error that should be denied and can be easily disproved. That the families, for example, of Enoch and Mary Ellen (King) Byler and Jonathan J. and Susan (Gingerich) Byler are but exceedingly remotely genealogically related to each other can be readily ascertained by an examination of the recently published Jacob Byler genealogy by Amanda D. Mast and Barbara Swartzentruber.[5]

The Enoch and J. J. Byler families were earlier referred to as the "numerical nuclei" of the present community. J. J. and Susan Byler had three married sons, three married daughters and two married granddaughters in the community in 1950. There were then 34 living children in these eight families, and there is also another granddaughter whose mother is deceased. Mary Ellen (Mrs. Enoch A.) Byler had two married sons, two married daughters, and two married grandsons in the community in 1950. There were 29 living children in these six families. Forty-two persons, counting

[5] *Descendants of Jacob Byler and Nancy Kauffman* (privately printed Dover, 1949). The Byler families at Atlantic are included in this record. A check with Atlantic family history schedules compiled in the field shows this book to be an unusually accurate and complete Old Order Amish family genealogy.

only descendants still residing in Atlantic, derive from J. J. and Susan Byler and 40 persons derive from Enoch and Mary Ellen Byler. Descendants of the two families together include 72 persons of the Atlantic Amish total of 160 individuals, or approximately 45 per cent of the total population as of September 1, 1950.

This total population of 160 persons divided by 25 families computes to an average family of 6.4 persons. This is an interesting contrast to the average rural farm family of 4.13 persons for the United States at large according to the 1950 census enumeration.[6] The only comparable figures for other Amish communities, so far as I know, are those for the Speicher Amish Church in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. In the summer of 1950 Hostetler found that the average household for 70 families of this church was 4.65 persons. He found the average number of children born to 41 "completed" families in this church to be 7.0. A "complete" family is one in which the mother is over 45 years of age. According to this definition there were seven complete families in the Atlantic church in 1950 and the average number of children born to them was 7.4.[7] If these figures are at all representative of the Amish family in the United States at large, at least one reason for the fact that there are now more Amish in the United States than ever before is abundantly clear. That this is so, and that there are also more Amish communities in the United States than ever before in the 250 years of their New World history, seems clearly the result, in spite of defections from the church, of the Amish high rate of natural increase.

This total Atlantic Amish population of 160 includes children, who are not, of course, members of the church. Of the 160, 60 were members of the church in the fall of 1950. This figure includes the husband and wife of each of the 25 families, one widow, and nine unmarried young people. It would be interesting to know if this proportion of members of the church to the total members of the geographic community were characteristic of Amish communities elsewhere. Irrespective, however, of how typical the proportion is, the field data for this group are an interesting instance of the accuracy of Raber's 1950 *Calender* citation (p. 31) of 23 families in

[6] *United States Census of Population, 1950,* Vol. 2, part 1, *United States Summary: General Characteristics,* Washington, D.C., 1952, Table 47, p. 97. The rural nonfarm family averaged 3.78 persons and the urban figure was 3.44 for 1950. A "family" is defined by the 1950 Census as "a group of two or more persons, related by blood, marriage, or adoption and living together; all such persons are regarded as members of one family." *Ibid.,* p. xiii.

[7] John A. Hostetler, *The Amish Family in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania,* MS thesis in Rural Sociology, The Pennsylvania State College. State College, Pa., 1951, 13-18. Hostetler cites Atlantic Amish field data gathered by the present writer.

the community, and of the 1950 *Mennonite Yearbook* figure (p. 86) of 59 members of the church.

The Atlantic community has been in existence since the fall of 1924 when the first four families migrated to Crawford County from Middlefield (Geauga County), Ohio. These families were those of Jake N. Byler and of his sons Andy J. and Ben J., who came together in the fall of 1924. They were soon followed by the family of Wollie N. Detweiler. These first four families later left for Mercer County, Pennsylvania, in 1942. Jake N. died in 1946 in Mercer County, but is buried in the Amish cemetery at Atlantic. Andy J. Byler, Sr., and Wollie N. Detweiler were ministers in the Mercer County Jackson Center Amish church when interviewed there in June, 1952.

Other families soon followed the first four families who came in 1924. Among these was the family of Emanuel F. and Mary (Miller) Fisher, who came in November, 1925. Emanuel and Mary Fisher are currently the Atlantic Amish of longest continuous residence there. Unlike several other families who have left and later returned, the Fishers have never done so. Emanuel and Mary have two married daughters at Atlantic. Emanuel has a brother, Bill J. Fisher, who has resided in Atlantic since the fall of 1928. Bill J.'s wife is a sister of Mrs. Joe M. Miller and also of Mrs. Neil D. Miller. Joe M. and Neil D. Miller are also examples of Amish genealogically unrelated persons with the same surname. (See above reference to the Bylers.) Jonathan J. and Susan Byler also came to Atlantic in the fall of 1928. They were, with Mrs. Enoch A. Byler, the oldest living inhabitants of the local Amish community in 1950.

Eli K. Byler was the first bishop to serve the Alantic church. He came from Geauga County in January or February, 1926, and served until his departure for Mercer County, where he died in 1942. The present bishop, Eli J. Troyer, was ordained as minister in 1945 and ordained as bishop in 1948 (Raber's 1950 *Calender* date of 1945 for the latter is in error). Before Eli Byler came to Atlantic, worship services were held by visiting preachers from Geauga County, Ohio and New Wilmington, Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. Old residents also report that from 1924 to 1926 singing worship services without ministerial supervision or preaching were also held. There was no resident bishop from Eli K. Byler's departure for Mercer in 1942 until Eli J. Troyer's ordination in May, 1948. For these six years Bishop Jonas Coblentz (father of Freeman J. Coblentz, a present resident of the com-

munity) served as bishop, at first from Mercer County, and later from Stark County, Ohio, where he now resides.

Until 1950 there had been but four ministers in the quarter-century history of the Atlantic church. The first was Eli J. Miller, who came to Atlantic from Geauga County as minister in the fall of 1927. He served as minister until he died in Atlantic in 1935 or 1936, and he also served as deacon until Ervin E. Byler (son of Enoch A. and Mary Ellen Byler) was ordained deacon of the church in 1933. Ervin Byler still serves as deacon, and is the only locally ordained deacon the Atlantic church has ever had. He is also the Atlantic church official of longest continuous service, having served as deacon for seventeen years, which is one year longer than Eli K. Byler served as bishop (1926-42), and also several months longer than Ben Raber, who served as minister at Atlantic from his ordination there in 1934 until his death in December, 1950.

The second minister of the Atlantic congregation was Andy J. Byler, Sr., who was ordained minister in 1912, who came to Atlantic in the spring of 1927, and who left for Mercer County in 1942, where he now serves as a minister in the Jackson Center church. The first minister to be ordained at Atlantic was Ben A. Raber, who was ordained in 1934, and who served until his death in 1950. The Atlantic church thus had three ministers from 1934 to 1935 (or 1936), from Ben Raber's ordination to Eli Miller's death, a period when Andy J. Byler, Sr., was also at Atlantic and serving as minister.

Although the church had the largest number of officials in the middle 1930's (a bishop, three ministers, and a deacon), informants in 1950 were agreed that the Atlantic community was largest in the early 1940's, when an estimated forty families were members of the church. This was also the period when the geographical area of the community was most widespread. The contraction of the community in population caused by the removal of more than a dozen families in 1942, also resulted in a decrease in its geographical distribution.

Although no direct question, such as "What do you remember as the main events in the history of the Atlantic church?" was asked informants, the distinct impression, based upon persistently repeated references to events, was received that two of the most important developments in Atlantic Amish history were World War II and the exodus to neighboring Mercer County in 1942. These were related events, as we shall now see.

The Japanese attack upon Pearl Harbor occurred on Sunday, December 7, 1941. Soon thereafter the United States government either bought farms or requisitioned them by right of eminent domain, ground was broken, and buildings were built for a large munitions manufacturing establishment near Geneva, in Greenwood Township, Crawford County. Greenwood Township is immediately east of East Fallowfield Township in which the town of Atlantic and the Atlantic Amish community are located. In 1942 several Amish families were located east of the East Fallowfield-Greenwood Township line. The government bought their farms, and the families relocated in East Fallowfield Township. The existence of this munitions plant, locally known as the "T.N.T." or "K.O.W." (Keystone Ordnance Works), so close to the peaceful Amish people caused considerable concern among them and resulted in the prompt removal of some dozen of the then existing Atlantic Amish families to Mercer County. Here they settled in the neighborhood of Jackson Center, about midway between the towns of Mercer and Stoneboro in the east-central part of the county. This determined Amish emigration from Crawford County resulted in the establishment of the Jackson Center Old Order Amish church in 1942. Raber's *Calender* and the *Mennonite Yearbook* accorded forty families and 102 members to this church in 1950, and according to Andy J. Byler, Sr., interviewed at Atlantic in August, 1950, these figures are approximately correct. When visited in June, 1952, the Mercer County community had been divided into two church districts with a total membership of 44 families. The Atlantic-to-Mercer migration in 1942 thus drew off approximately one third of the families of the Atlantic community, and the Mercer County Amish community is now more than one third larger than the Atlantic community is at present.

The migration to Mercer included several prominent and long-resident Atlantic families. It has already been mentioned that the Atlantic bishop and one of the ministers left for Mercer. Two of the present Mercer County preachers were formerly residents at Atlantic. The first four families to move to Atlantic in 1924, the families which founded the community, were all members of the group which removed to Mercer County in 1942. The fifth family to come to Atlantic, that of Emanuel J. and Mary (Miller) Fisher, still lives at Atlantic. Of the first eight families who settled at Atlantic from 1924 to the spring of 1927, one family head died at Atlantic (Jonathan Wengerd; died in 1935), one family still resides in the Atlantic community, and the other six, including the resident

bishop and a minister at Atlantic, left for Mercer. The reasons for this migration most often voiced by Atlantic informants in 1950 were fear of the plant itself, which was felt to be altogether too near Atlantic, and apprehension lest a rough population element be introduced into the local area. These two attitudes were also shared to some extent by non-Amish residents of the area. In this connection it is of interest to note that the two Amish families (those of Milo E. and Andy G. Byler) which then lived in Greenwood Township and whose farms had to be relinquished to the United States government, did not join the group going to Mercer, but instead remained in the local church, relocating in East Fallowfield Township several miles west of the Greenwood Township line.

The geographical and church district origin of new members of Amish communities is of social-historical significance, as is also the destination of emigrants who leave these communities. Analysis of an at-present incomplete list of families who have moved to and who have moved from Atlantic clearly shows that the Atlantic community was founded and has been historically fed predominantly by migrants from Ohio Amish districts, particularly from those in Geauga and Holmes counties. It also clearly shows that of those who have left Atlantic the largest group destined for a single place is the group that left Atlantic for Mercer County, Pennsylvania, in 1942 and 1943. Families have also come to Atlantic from other counties and districts in Ohio; in 1940 three families came from Nappanee, Indiana; and a few families or individuals have come from Delaware, Iowa, and elsewhere. A somewhat striking characteristic of the Atlantic community from the standpoint of the other Amish districts which have contributed to its growth is that few individuals coming to Atlantic have come from other Amish settlements in Pennsylvania. On the other hand, Atlantic has fed other Pennsylvania Amish communities, the Mercer County Old Order church having been established as an offshoot of the Atlantic congregation.

A third important event in the history of the Atlantic community, in addition to the war and the emigration to Mercer County, occurred in the summer of 1951. In October, 1950, the Amish at Atlantic had their first serious trouble with local school authorities. This led to their decision to build their own rural school. Ground was cleared, a basement was excavated, and a cinder-block building was put up by co-operative Amish labor during the summer of 1951. Classes taught by a male member of the Amish community began in October of that year with more than 30

students in attendance. Local school authorities refused to transport Amish students to their school in the public school bus. This problem was solved by Amish families hiring a local non-Amish farmer who hauled their children to school in his truck. Here, as elsewhere, we see Amish people solving their community problems by the co-operation and mutual aid which are so justifiably to be extolled as essential Amish virtues.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that, although the Atlantic Amish community is the only one in Crawford County at the present time, formerly another Amish group, known locally as "Crawford County No. 2," existed at Spartansburg in the northeastern corner of the county. It was also known as the "Sparta" church and was in existence during the depression years of the 1930's. It was largest in the middle 1930's when it consisted of at least 20 families, and may have included some 10 or 15 more. Its history is at present being studied, largely from non-Amish informants who still reside in the area and remember its Amish inhabitants. It was established during the depression and seems to have expired as a result of it.[8] A third Amish community in this section of northwestern Pennsylvania was known to the Atlantic Amish as "Crawford County No. 3." The Amish eponym is a misnomer, however, for this community was in western Warren County, Pennsylvania, several miles east of the Crawford County line, which was ignored in the Amish locution. It was a small group of 24 persons and it also expired as a result of the depression. In this case, however, psychological factors also clearly contributed to its failure as a community.[9]

The Atlantic Amish group has thus been and remains a small, successful and consistent community. Apart from the migration of 1942 its history has been stable. It has met with no irremedial problems and has experienced no cataclysmic changes in its course of development. Its most intimate social relations are with the geographically nearest eastern Ohio groups from which it originated and with the Mercer group which derived from it. Its annals are the characteristically unaccelerated and relatively uncomplicated ones of "Die Stillen im Lande" elsewhere in the United States.

[8] See Maurice A. Mook, "Crawford County Number Two: A Now Extinct Old Order Amish Community of the 1930's", *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, Vol. 37, No. 1, Mar. 1954, 33-46.

[9] See *Idem*, "Crawford County No. 3." *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*, July, 1953. 6-8.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE COLLEGES, 1952-53

SILAS HERTZLER

For the past twenty-five years the writer has been tabulating statistics on attendance in Mennonite secondary schools and colleges in the United States and Canada. For the year 1951-52 the scope of the information included in the printed tables was cut down, due to the printing costs. For the present year, at the request of the editors, the secondary schools are being omitted entirely, and only college attendance is included. The 13 regularly organized junior and senior colleges, plus the three nursing schools, are therefore the only schools included in this report. Twenty-four schools giving work chiefly on the high school level are omitted. Four of these, Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, Emmanuel Bible College, and Alberta Mennonite High School, had 92 college students and Bible students who had finished high school enrolled. The names and addresses of the sixteen schools included are as follows:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Bethel College, 1000 North McKinley Avenue, Mishawaka, Indiana
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Pacific Bible Institute, 2149 Tuolumne Street, Fresno 21, California
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing, Bloomington, Illinois
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 515 Wellington Crescent, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Bethel Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing, Newton, Kansas
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, La Junta, Colorado

Total attendance on the college level, for 1952-53, stood at 3,681, in 16 junior colleges, nursing schools, liberal arts colleges,

and graduate seminaries. This is an increase in these areas of 248 students over the year 1951-52, when the report included 21 institutions with students of college grade. These statistics are shown in Table I.

Table II gives exact details, by level of classification. Decidedly the largest attendance was at Goshen, with an enrollment of 991. However, 394 of these were part-time people, summer residents, off campus enrollees, and correspondence students. Five hundred and ninety-seven were full-time students during the regular school year in college and in the Biblical Seminary. The school with the smallest enrollment was the La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing with 45 girls in attendance.

Table III gives exact information on the number of Mennonite students. The 2,722 Mennonite students represent 74.22 per cent of the total attendance of 3,681. The proportion of Mennonite students is very large in a number of schools, being particularly noticeable at Mennonite Biblical Seminary, at Eastern Mennonite College, at Hesston College and Bible School, and at Canadian Mennonite Bible College. The total Mennonite college attendance increased 72 students over the year 1951-52. Table IV shows a summer attendance in 8 colleges of 519 for the year 1952. This is a decrease of 94 over the summer of 1951.

Diplomas and degrees are tabulated in Table V. The number of professional Biblical degrees increased from 38 to 52. These were granted in 8 schools. Fourteen names were used for the bachelor's degrees granted. The most popular four-year degree is the classical B.A. There were 169 B.A.'s granted by 6 different colleges. The B.S. in Education was granted to 72 students, with almost two thirds of them being granted at one college.

TABLE I
Total Enrollment in Mennonite Colleges, 1952-53

School	Graduate Students	College	Total Enrollment	Men	Women	Detailed Information Not Given
M.B.S.	35		35	29	6	
Goshen	43	948	991[1]	434	557	
Bethel, Kans.		472	472	231	241	
Bluffton		306	306[2]	139	167	
Grace		306	306	156	150	
E.M.C.	6	277	283	133	150	
Tabor	13	265	278	137	141	
Bethel, Ind.		186	186	106	80	
M.B.B.C.		183	183[3]	71	54	58
Hesston		165	165	85	80	
Pacific	10	125	135	82	53	
Bloomington		84	84		84	
Canadian	3	78	81	44	37	
Freeman		76	76	37	39	
Bethel Hospital		55	55		55	
La Junta		45	45		45	
Totals	110	3571	3681[4]	1684	1939	58

[1] 13 correspondence students, not of college grade; 46 winter term Bible students, for six weeks, not of college grade.
[2] 51 music and art students, not of college grade; 8 summer students, not of college grade.
[3] 58 are evening students.
[4] Four schools, chiefly academies, each with a few college students, not included.

TABLE II
Enrollment by Classes, 1952-53

School	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Departments	Total
M.B.S.	35								35
Goshen	43[1]	121	123	126	184	197[10]	105[7]	92[2]	991
Bethel, Kans.		55	68	84	147		61[8]	57[2]	472
Bluffton		32	50	39	75	12	20	78[2]	306
Grace		59	89	71	87				306
E.M.C.	6	30	41	55	112	16	23		283
Tabor	13[4]	21	35	55	71	55	28		278
Bethel, Ind.		17	30	45	61	23	10		186
M.B.B.C.			25	27	67	3		61[8]	183
Hesston		3	8	36	77	2	13[9]	26[6]	165
Pacific	10	12	19	29	57	8			135
Bloomington			33	23	28				84
Canadian	3	4		16	39	19			81
Freeman				14	46	2	10	4[2]	76
Bethel Hospital			22	16	17				55
La Junta			11	14	20				45
Totals	110	354	554	650	1088	337	270	318	3681

[1] Seminary students 34; liberal arts graduate students 9.
[2] Correspondence students 24; Scottdale extension 9.
[3] Extension students.
[4] Seminary students 7; liberal arts graduate students 6.
[5] Extension students 58; unclassified 3.
[6] Evening students 23; Christian workers 2; correspondence 1.
[7] 92 summer students; 13 spring term.
[8] 48 summer students; 13 spring term.
[9] Spring term.
[10] Part-time students, largely teachers, taking evening and Saturday classes.

TABLE III

Mennonite Students, 1952-53

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen College	308	367	675
Bethel College, Kansas	190	180	370
Eastern Mennonite College	129	149	278
Tabor College	127	125	252
Grace Bible Institute	113	115	228
Hesston College and Bible School	82	78	160
Bethel College, Indiana	72	60	132
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	69	51	120
Bluffton College	62	57	119
Pacific Bible Institute of Fresno	62	43	105
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	44	36	80
Freeman Junior College	31	32	63
Bethel Deaconess Hospital		46	46
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing		43	43
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	28	6	34
Bloomington Mennonite Hospital		17	17
Total	1317	1405	2722

TABLE IV

Students in Summer Session, 1952

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen College	52	180	232
Bluffton College	16	55	71
Bethel College, Kansas			61[1]
Bethel College, Indiana	26	24	50
Tabor College	16	28	44
Eastern Mennonite College	11	26	37
Hesston College and Bible School	5	9	14
Freeman Junior College	1	9	10
Total	127	331	519[2] 458[3]

[1] Exclusive of duplicates with the regular school year; further details not given.

[2] Vertical total.

[3] Horizontal total.

TABLE V
Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, 1952

	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel, Kans.	E.M.C.	Grace	Bluffton	Hesston	Pacific	Freeman	Tabor	Bethel, Ind.	Bethel Deaconess	M.B.B.C.	La Junta	Canadian	Total
B.D.	8	5								1						14
M.R.E.	3															3
Th.B.		12	1	5				3		4			7		3	35
B.A.		87	29	5		20				20	8					169
B.S. in Ed.		46	13	8		5										72
B.A. in Bibl.				10	21			7								38
B.R.E.		6		2			6						12		4	30
B.A. Bibl. Lit.											15					15
B.S. Bus.			5			6										11
B.S.				2		8										10
B.A. Miss. Anth.								5								5
B.Sch. Mus.						5										5
B.S. Ind. Arts			5													5
B.S. in Biol.			3													3
B.A. Chr. Ed.								1								1
B.S. Ho. Ec.						1										1
Nursing Diploma												23		16		39
Bibl. 3 yr.					31			5					1			37
A.A.		16					27	5	9	2						59
Jr. Col.				7												7
Jr. Col. Bible.				5												5
A.A. Bibl.		3					2									5
Bibl. 2 yr.								5								5
Normal 2 yr.									4							4
Sec. 1 yr.		18		1												19
Normal 1 yr.									13							13
Am. Studies		1	2	1					1							5
Chr. Workers		1		4												5
Music													2			2
Totals	11	201	61	55	52	47	35	31	27	27	23	23	22	16	7	638

An 1875 Mennonite Evaluation of Kansas

When growing Russian nationalism threatened the almost complete autocracy that the Mennonites had enjoyed in the Ukraine for nearly a century, their leaders appointed a committee to investigate lands for settlement in North America. This committee of twelve men, often referred to as the Deputation of 1873, investigated lands in the Prairie States and Manitoba. Not only was there competition between the states and between the railroad companies to obtain these settlements for their particular areas, but there was considerable disagreement among the Mennonites themselves concerning what would be the most desirable location. By the end of the decade the approximately 18,000 Mennonite immigrants had divided themselves into several settlements, the two largest groups settling in Kansas and Manitoba and small groups in Nebraska, South Dakota, and Minnesota. Those who had chosen Kansas in preference to Nebraska or other more northward localities justified their choice. In 1874 David Goerz, an outstanding leader of the Mennonites who settled in Kansas, published in behalf of the Harvey County committee a thirty-page pamphlet entitled *The Mennonite Settlement on the Lands of the Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fe Railroad Company in Harvey and Marion Counties, Kansas,* describing in detail the topography, soil, climate, water, farm products, markets, industries, building materials, fuel, towns, transportation, and terms of sale of the land of the Harvey-Marion counties area. A year later, after six hundred Mennonite families had moved into this area, the committee re-examined its evaluation of east central Kansas, endorsing its conclusions of the previous year. A translation of this rare pamphlet of 1875 is reprinted below. (Melvin Gingerich)

Brief Addition to the pamphlet: The Mennonite Settlement on the Lands of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company in Harvey and Marion Counties, Kansas. By The Land Commitee (For Halstead and Vicinity), February 1875.

When we wrote the above-mentioned pamphlet a year ago, we could not yet venture the bold presupposition that in scarcely ten months six hundred families of our faith in Russia (nearly half of all the Mennonite immigrants to this place from Russia) would select these lands for their future homes—so much the less since from that time on, when in spite of our honorable and honest intentions that we made the basis of the description of our purchase of land in Kansas, and which any unprejudiced reader would have found without difficulty, our procedure has been interpreted with unfounded suspicions not only by land agents of other states, but also by many who immigrated to those places. But we will be silent on this point, since it does not promote our purpose to repay with like coin, and since we by no means need to defend ourselves, because we have not seen any refutation of our statements. The fact that our last year's pamphlet made no malicious attacks upon other states, but merely sought to answer some unfounded calumniations of Kansas, no one will deny. But today we see ourselves relieved of this effort by facts that speak for themselves. But we are not in the least minded to designate the aforesaid fact as a result of our pamphlet, for our friends in Kansas, who of their own volition and personal conviction settled there, would not admit that they were made to make this choice by us. As evidence of this fact, Elder Jakob Wiebe as well

as also Jakob Buller (the latter with his entire party) went first to other states, e.g., Nebraska, and came to Kansas from there, giving it the preference. The accusation that the first arrivals in Kansas have acquired the land cheaper at the cost of later arrivals is negated by the simple fact that those who came later bought their land just as cheaply and under equally favorable terms on the part of the Railroad Company as we, and were therefore not at a disadvantage through our previous purchase. The special law which was passed in Kansas on military duty they are also trying to rob of its significance, with of course the well-calculated additions that a similar law (better, of course?) will be passed in the state that is to put Kansas in the shade. We are not mentioning this in order to detract from other states, but merely to bear witness to the truth.

Concerning progress in the various branches of agriculture in our Kansas settlement as evidence that Kansas is better suited to farming, we can make such claims as little as competing states, especially for the past year, since all were equally victims of a plague of grasshoppers. Only the experience of several years must prove which of the 5 competing sites for Mennonite settlements will prove itself best, for this least deceptive judgment of experience we will have to await. Let us therefore now proceed with the actual purpose of this pamphlet and examine in succession the paragraphs of our last year's pamphlet to see the relationship between present facts in Kansas and that description.

With regard to the introduction of that pamphlet, we say that we hold the same views today as we expressed there and say about the subject especially stressed there, viz., the school, that Jakob Wiebe's congregation, which has founded the Gnadenau colony in Marion County, has already opened its school with a teacher brought from Russia. Jakob Buller's congregation, which has, to be sure, not settled in a colony, but has nevertheless as much as possible combined in small groups, has made arrangements and employed a teacher. Likewise Dietrich Geddert's company, which has settled to the north of Burrton.

Also the introduction of their own municipal institutions, such as fire insurance like the system operated by the Mennonite colonies of South Russia, which often is preferable to the uncertain insurance companies.

Concerning the paragraphs of our pamphlet that contain descriptions of topographical and climatic conditions, further comments are superfluous, since there is nothing to be added or retracted, or to be corrected, unless it is to comment that expert wheat raisers (who are incidentally also fathers of families) from South Russia say that they are well satisfied with the nature of the soil of their lands in Kansas. The state of health of the settlers in Kansas, in so far as it can be made dependent upon climatic conditions, is in fact very satisfactory, and many have there regained their health in the good air, who suffered of fever in Illinois or were otherwise ill upon arrival.

Sheep raising is now the subject of important experimentation, and it is to be expected that when the sheep have become acclimated it will be a profitable business. Very likely the sheep bred there will thrive better than imported sheep. With respect to mills it may be remarked that in addition to the mills powered by water at Marion Center and Halstead which were mentioned in the pamphlet, other mills have been prospected and are being built, driven by both water and the wind.

At the close of the fifteenth paragraph of our last year's pamphlet we tried to imagine the Mennonite settlement in Kansas in the future as a belt extending through three counties; this belt has not only had its vacant places filled, but has been considerably extended. Whereas last year Halstead

was the westernmost point of the Mennonite settlement, it is today rather in the center of the lengthwise extension of the settlement from its eastern boundary in Morris County to the west boundary in Barton County, a distance of over 100 miles. In width the settlement does not extend over 20 miles, and is located chiefly in the northern half of the land limits of the Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad.

Aside from the distress caused by grasshoppers, which touches directly only a few of the friends settled there because most of them did not arrive until after the harvest; further, aside from the poverty of those who were brought to Kansas from Philadelphia penniless and are not yet in the ranks of land-owning settlers, our friends in Kansas are in general (in the neighborhood of Marion County, Gnadenau, Halstead, Newton, Burrton, etc.) very well pleased with their situation and circumstances, in so far as these can be made dependent on the place of settlement, and even the penniless ones will very likely with the generous procedure of the Railway Company and the aid of their well-to-do friends soon be placed in the position where through industry and energy they can make their living conditions more favorable, establish their own hearth and assure themselves of a livelihood.

Because future church conditions in Kansas have already been discussed in our last year's pamphlet, comments will be limited here to the brief remark that already sixteen preachers of our brotherhood (there may be more by this time, of whom we do not know at the moment) are active in the Mennonite settlement in Kansas. The companies that went to Kansas as closed groups with their own preachers (J. Buller's, J. Wiebe's, Jakob Stuki's and others) are continuing as they were, while at other places, as in Halstead, Marion Center, etc., the organization of new congregations has already been begun or has been planned.

With this we close our brief addition to our last year's pamphlet entirely in the spirit in which we made the closing remarks of that pamphlet and with the wish that in another year from today, if we should see the need for several remarks again, we might be able to present only cheerful facts from Kansas. Nevertheless our joy would not be decreased, as certain persons may perhaps believe, if we should hear from other places of settlement of our people in other states equally favorable facts, free of prejudiced concealments and distortions. If then unadorned facts are of any real worth, we believe that we may rightfully call the attention of our immigrating brethren to the facts briefly presented in this pamphlet and let the facts speak for themselves, not indeed to mislead the immigrants to blind haste but with the earnest challenge, "Prove all things, and choose [hold fast to] that which is best."

The Land Committee
(For Halstead and vicinity)

February 1875

BOOK REVIEWS

An Introduction to Thelogy. An Interpretation of the Doctrinal Content of Scripture, Written to Strengthen a Childlike Faith in Christ. By John Christian Wenger. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1954. Pp. 418. $4.00.

John Christian Wenger, professor of Theology and Philosophy at Goshen College, is the most prolific writer in the Mennonite Church. This book is his longest and most important work, climaxing eleven previous publications: *The History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference* (1937 and 1938), *Glimpses of Mennonite History* (1940), *Christ the Redeemer and Judge* (1942), *Christianity and Dress* (1943), *Historical and Biblical Position of the Mennonite Church on Attire* (1944), *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine* (1947), *Can a Thinking Man Be a Christian? a Theistic Critique of the Humanist Manifesto* (1950), *The Doctrines of the Mennonites* (1950), *Basic Issues in Nonconformity* (1951), *Separated unto God* (1951), *Clear Thinking About Courtship* (1952). Here is history, philosophy, Biblical interpretation, theology, and ethics.

In addition, Prof. Wenger has written twelve weighty historical articles in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* drawing primarily on original research done during doctoral work in Zurich and Basel. Several of these articles were reprinted in the Harry Emerson Fosdick anthology *Great Voices of the Reformation* (1952). This prolific output in many areas of concern has taken place during a teaching career at Goshen College spanning 16 years on the part of a man only 44 years of age!

In the writings of John Christian Wenger there are a number of persisting traits. There is a lucid style easy to follow, well documented presentations, full bibliographies for further study, the reprinting of both Reformation and modern documents in the appendix, a personal touch and a fervent expression of evangelical piety integrated with Mennonite teaching as understood against the background of his nurture in various schools and experiences.

As preparation for this major work in theology, Prof. Wenger attended Eastern Mennonite and Goshen Colleges where he found conservative Mennonite thought and the Anabaptist revival; Westminster of Philadelphia where he faced the old Princeton scholasticism interpreted by Prof. J. G. Machen; Zurich and Basel where he studied under Karl Barth and Emil Brunner; the University of Michigan where he encountered philosophical humanism and naturalism. In a sense he detoured around Protestant liberalism, since the University of Michigan does not pretend to operate in a Protestant context. Otherwise, the major winds of doctrine were present in his educational experience, an experience preceded by nurture in a conservative but vital Mennonite home in the Franconia, Pennsylvania, Conference.

Against the background of this formidable preparation it was understandable that the Publishing Committee of the Mennonite Publication Board (Scottdale) asked John Christian Wenger to write a "Mennonite theology." The author's preface records that "It was the desire of this committee that the work should be thoroughly saturated with the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and yet that it should be more directly Biblical than historical in character."

In addition to the stipulation that the work be Anabaptist and Biblical the assignment contained other directives, namely, to support a higher view of Biblical inspiration, to play down the philosophical and the technical, to

strengthen a childlike faith in Christ, to fill in gaps created by the collapse of our German doctrinal literature, to write an introduction to larger and more comprehensive works in theology, and to create a conservative theology which also affirmed doctrines left out by fundamentalist theologians.

Obviously the foregoing assignment is all but impossible, since it gathers up almost all the unfinished business of the past fifty years. But the jacket announcement confidently assures us that "for the first time a historical Mennonite theology has been written."

Surely the first reaction must be one of gratitude. Gratitude for a Mennonite scholar courageous enough to attempt what no one has ever attempted before. Gratitude for the sweep of the author's reading and study through Biblical, ancient, Reformation, and modern materials. Gratitude for many issues handled with clarity and skill—especially the section on God as Sanctifier. An earlier generation of Mennonite teachers would hardly have dared to enter into the deepest waters of theological debate with a printed apologia of their position. This John Christian Wenger has done. Already reviews have come back voicing only minor criticisms and affirming some major achievements in the book. With much of this general reaction this reviewer is in accord. A Mennonite theology detached from a shallow liberalism and yet yoked to a solid appreciation of Christian living is a real achievement. As such this book is likely to have a very wide audience among all branches of Mennonites. In the very year of its publication classes at Mennonite Biblical Seminary and Bethel College (Kansas) used the book with stimulation and appreciation. What is even more important, many ministers and perhaps some laymen will buy and read this book as a helpful guide in the midst of the weird winds of doctrine blowing over our churches. In the context of this role for the book I offer congratulations to the writer for a courageous, pioneering book destined for a long and useful ministry.

Having said all this, a gnawing, persisting question remains and will not go away, try as one may. It is the question of *method.* How can a theology be written which is at once Biblical, Anabaptist, and also relevant to the modern theological debate? The obvious answer is to quote the Bible and to quote the Anabaptists and more recent Christians. In fact, quote the Bible and the church fathers time and time again. The question arises whether this method is profound enough to bring us into contact with the Holy of Holies in the Word of God or with the historical tradition to which we give our allegiance. It is fairly clear that our knowledge of the Holy Scriptures as revelation and our knowledge of the Anabaptists and other great Christian movements cannot really be penetrated by this method.

With this assumption it now seems clear that current Mennonite scholarship was not quite ready for such a unique and unprecedented book as this. (The jacket tells us that "the present book is not intended to be or become *the* Mennonite theology, but is offered to the brotherhood and to Christendom to help those who are looking for a brief summary of the doctrinal content of Scripture as understood in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition." Yet, if one has the doctrinal content of Scripture as understood by Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition, one has *the* Mennonite theology.)

Indeed, this review would suggest that the following work needs to be done before *the* Mennonite theology is written. The first step in working toward a Mennonite theology is to determine much more clearly what the over-all theology of the Bible really is. The old liberals denied that there was any theology in the Bible—they saw it as nothing but the history of religion. Or, they saw theology in the Bible but a conflicting cacophony of

many theologies. Now, thank God, Biblical scholarship is much closer to the real inner secrets of the Bible. It is still radically historical, but now the Living God *acts* redemptively in history and also *speaks* redemptively in history. Eichrodt and Cullmann in Basel, Wright and Filson at McCormick are only four among many who stand ready to help us see the strange new world of the Bible which is a scandal to the Greeks and a stumbling block to the Jews. Yet, withal, a Bible which is God's Word to us is understood only with the eyes of faith, even though its context can be studied by the naked eye of the natural man. Somewhere along this spectrum of vision Mennonite Biblical scholarship must first move to disclose the whole counsel of the Scriptures, its grand themes, its major motifs, its audaciously unique claims. And when we know this it may be just as unpleasant to Protestant scholasticism as to various brands of modernism and naturalism. It is this which is our first task—virtually nothing has been done on this thus far. At least, it has not been done by Mennonite scholars.

Second, it is necessary to do much more spade work in Anabaptist theology. It is shocking but true that the recent Anabaptist revival has still not spoken systematically or decisively as to the real meaning of Anabaptist theology. Even Goshen College does not offer a course in Anabaptist theology. Among the questions which have to be worked through *before* we can undertake *the* Mennonite theology are these: Were the Anabaptists existentialists who really had no theology (as in Robert Friedmann), or did they intelligently articulate their beliefs even though they saw the peril of theologizing and system-building? What was the basic motif of the Anabaptist witness? Was it discipleship (Bender) or restitution-missions (Littell) or martyrdom (Stauffer) or Biblical paradox (Smucker)? Is Pietism the classical enemy of Anabaptism or is it accommodation? What was the relation of Anabaptists to the theology of the Reformed and Lutheran theologians? What is the relation of the soundly Biblical Anabaptists to the heretical left and the chiliastic right? What basic theological issues did the Anabaptists leave relatively untouched? What were the strengths and the weaknesses of the Anabaptists: where do they speak to us and where must we go beyond them? These are some basic questions which call for answers before the definitive Mennonite theology can be written. When we have painstakingly gone through the Biblical and the Anabaptist theological dimensions of our problem; when we have done this with methods aimed at the whole contribution of each, then we will approach our problem with a basic perspective which will shed light on everything which is said. Until this is done there will be a tendency to proof-text both the Biblical and the Anabaptist messages without being sure of the inner essence of either one.

Prof. Wenger's book also poses the larger question of theological method, a question greatly debated in current theological circles because modernism insisted that the scientific method is the *only* method which can be used in the search for truth. At one point, we are told that we need more than philosophy (p. V) and yet we need revelation *and* reason (p. 24). The angry voice of Karl Barth stands over to the right declaring that reason has no place in theological method; and on the left are the empiricists declaring that only through reason can we study the Christian message or physics or communism.

Surely this book stands in the succession of Prof. Wenger's books where documentation is clearly used throughout. There are, according to a study made by Robert Ramseyer, 1842 footnotes or 5.2 per page. 1539 of these refer to the Bible with 286 non-Biblical and 17 explanatory. Of the

non-Biblical quotations 13 refer to the early church, 65 to the Reformation period, and 208 to modern writers. Of the Reformation writers the following are quoted: Menno 31, *Martyrs' Mirror* 10, Martin Luther 4, Westminster Confession 3, Dirck Philips 3, Conrad Grebel 3, Calvin 2, Tract on Obedience 2, Council of Trent 2, and one each from Roosen, Valerius, Wycliff, Heidelberg Catechism, and Augsburg Confession. Menno is obviously the major resource among the Anabaptists. One quote from Menno on the New Birth runs from 279 to 284. There is no comment on this quote and perhaps this methodology is not basically sound in establishing a point, since the reader wants to know its implications, its relation to other Anabaptists, and, above all, its relation to the Bible itself.

Of the 208 references to modern writers, 59 are references to pre-1910 works, 56 to books written between 1910 and 1940 and 75 from books written since 1940. Of the 44 books (some quoted more than once) cited since 1940, 19 are from fundamentalist publishers.

The modern writers and sources in frequency of quotation are: *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* 16, H. C. Leupold 12, *Catholic Dictionary* 11, C. I. Scofield 11, Angus-Green 10, A. Clarke 8, A. H. Strong 8, H. S. Miller 7, John Christian Wenger 7, *Lutheran Encyclopedia* 6, L. Berkhof 6, B. Warfield 5.

The foregoing statistical materials correlate fairly well with the author's educational background and suggest the basically conservative orientation in the older evangelicals who were both scholarly and orthodox in Protestant terms. Future studies must be extended a bit more into the neo-evangelicalism (neo-fundamentalism) which is just emerging in places like Fuller Theological Seminary and Wheaton College; the neo-liberalism of the Baillie Brothers in Scotland and D. D. Williams of Chicago and Union (a neo-liberalism which accepts revelation and reason); and the newer forms of neo-orthodoxy or crisis theology which now accepts a larger measure of concern for ethical issues than was first thought to be the case.

As a courageous pioneering work this book is a success. As one prolegomenon to a challenging issue which brings together Mennonite-Anabaptist thought and the older orthodoxy the book is a success. But as *the* Mennonite theology the book fails. This is no fault of the author. Mennonite scholarship (drawing on other consecrated scholarship) must delineate more clearly a vital wholeness in the Bible, in the Anabaptists and in recent theology before this book can be written. Nothing less than this is our commission in the next twenty-five years in all Mennonite institutions where serious scholarly work is carried on by men who have faith illumined by the Holy Spirit and made obedient by discipleship in a real brotherhood.

The Herald Press has done another first-class job of publishing with type, proofreading, paper, cover, and jacket. On page 29, line 7, Testament is misspelled.

Mennonite Biblical Seminary Don. E. Smucker

Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants. By Delbert L. Gratz. No. 8, *Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History,* edited by Harold S. Bender, *et al.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1953. Pp. 219. $2.75.

The purpose of this volume, states the author, is to record objectively the "thread of history from earliest times to the present of the group of Bernese Anabaptists that was destined to find their homes in America during the forepart of the ninetenth century." Dr. Delbert Gratz, the author, has succeeded well in his purpose of setting down this record in a compre-

hensive, thorough way. He has done more; he has given the reader a sympathetic insight into the inner life of the movement.

Dr. Gratz has gathered up the research of his eminent predecessors—Ernst Müller, Adolf Fluri, Samuel Geiser, and C. Henry Smith—and has brought his own excellent historiographical skills to bear on hitherto unused archival materials to make of this volume the definitive work in the field. In this study Dr. Gratz traces the story of the Anabaptist movement from beginnings in 1525 in the territory of Bern through four centuries of heroic but often troubled development. It is a chronicle of persecutions, theological debates, internal conflicts, numerous migrations, and throughout—the epic of a people with a tenacious capacity to survive. Particular attention is given to the Jura Mountain region from which most Swiss Mennonites in America have come. This account of the Mennonites in the Jura, Montbéliard, and Normanvillars regions fills a major gap in Mennonite history. Dr. Gratz details in a systematic way the story of the migrations and the settlements in Wayne County, Ohio; the Bluffton-Pandora area in Ohio; Berne, Indiana; and the smaller Swiss Mennonite settlements in America.

Dr. Gratz, Librarian and Associate Professor of History at Bluffton College, has pursued his interest in Swiss Mennonite history since boyhood days. He was reared in the Swiss Mennonite community at Bluffton, Ohio. This volume is the fruit of his master's study at Ohio State University and doctoral study at the University of Bern (Switzerland), where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1950. This study represents two years of research in the rich depository of Anabaptist material at the Bernese State Archives. One need only consult the extensive listing of manuscript materials in the bibliography to deduct that Dr. Gratz has exhaustively probed the archival resources of scores of American, Swiss, and French archives. It is manifest that the author has brought to his study impressive linguistic and paleographical skills.

The author's first footnote is devoted to an explanation of his plan to use consistently throughout the volume the term "Anabaptist." He has been reluctant to use the term "Mennonite," universally used by these Swiss "Anbaptists" in America, but rarely used by their coreligionists in Switzerland. "Anabaptist" is the translation of the term given them by their enemies in the sixteenth century, *Täufer* and *Wiedertäufer*—"re-baptizers." The author is perhaps justified in his use of the term "Anabaptist" for the European segment of the history, but it seems a bit strained to impose the term on the American phase of the story.

One of the more controversial portions of Dr. Gratz's account may be his discussion of the origin of Bernese Anabaptism. In the first chapter he describes the two major theories concerning origin: first, that Bernese Anabaptism was rooted in the Waldensian movement which had been in Bernese territory since the thirteenth century, and, second, that the movement was an importation from Zurich. Dr. Gratz discusses this problem with scholarly caution but one detects that his loyalties are with the Thieleman van Braght-Ernst Müller theory that Bernese Anabaptism was of older, indigenous Bernese origin and not a Zurich importation. There are few problems more elusive for the historian than that of seeking to trace the derivation of ideas and movements in history. We certainly can affirm that there are chain reactions of ideas in history. However, where historical data are meager—and in this instance, pathetically meager—one can only make intelligent guesses.

The reviewer does not find the theory of Bernese-Waldensian origin fully satisfying—not because the partisans of Zurich put up a better case,

but because the case for Bernese-Waldensian origins must rest in the final appeal on "intangible sociological and psychological factors," e.g., "the old-evangelical climate of opinion" in the Emmental. The Bernese-Waldensian line of argument also suggests a kind of cantonal provincialism. It is a curious trait among church historians—students of Anabaptism not exempted—that we are reluctant to admit derivative status for ideas and movements we hold dear. Witness the reluctance of some to admit any Anabaptist debt to the major reformers. Witness the hesitancy of some to admit any Anabaptist debt to the humanists. In the problem under discussion may there not have been a parallel phenomenon in Bern and Zurich which was both independent and interdependent? In 1525 the residents of the Emmental and the farmers of the territory of Zurich shared a similar spiritual yearning. The soil was prepared. When the seed of Anabaptist ideas—a Biblical, concrete Christianity—was planted in Bern the reception was immediate and enthusiastic. People could say: "This speaks to my need; this is that for which I have been seeking." The question of who is entitled to the credit for the paternity of these ideas seems a little irrelevant because—to change the metaphor—the spark of the initial Anabaptist leadership and the tinder of a yearning, seeking people were both essential to the fire. The author is entitled to an apology for this long digression, for he maintains a scholarly poise in his discussion of origins.

The great drama chronicled by Dr. Gratz is the conflict of more than four centuries between the Anabaptists and the Bernese government. The movement never could be totally extinguished in the territory of Bern. The state authorities were resourceful in experimenting with every technique in the book of persecution in their vain effort to suppress the movement. At first sight it seems strange that the highly efficient and centralized government of Bern should fail to eliminate this nonconformist element from the body politic. The story of the Anabaptist in the territory of Bern illustrates the difficulties which encumber even a strong government bent on destroying a spiritual movement which enjoys popular support among the rural population. One also observes that the policy of containment and suppression perhaps failed to have complete victory, because ruthless programs were periodically allowed to lapse in favor of less rigorous treatment. Bern lacked the elemental vindictiveness to sustain a reign of terror over a prolonged period.

One of the most absorbing chapters is number V, a description of the inner life of the Anabaptist movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Here again is that sobering commentary on a movement which had been in the early sixteenth century a vibrantly alive, evangelically expansive, ethically prophetic brotherhood of disciples. Three centuries later, worn down by the attrition of persecution and time, the movement had slipped back into a respectable quietism, exclusive, introspective, dominated by concerns of preservation. The *koinonia*-like fellowship of 1525 with its glorious sense of discipleship to Christ had given way to an Anabaptist folk-people maintained by the bonds of blood and soil and time-hallowed traditions. Again here is that crucial problem in Anabaptist history: How can the creative high experience of the first generation of the brotherhood be mediated to the second and third generations so that they will share in similar degree the passionate convictions of their fathers?

Not the least of the merits of this book is the appendix which includes a number of census lists and other lists of Anabaptists, the earliest being the one of representatives at the great debate at Bern in 1538. These data should be invaluable for those pursing genealogical studies. Also of interest

is the list in the appendix of all Mennonite congregations in America, including the extinct ones, which stem from the nineteenth century emigration from Switzerland to America. Grouped in two sections of the book are more than a score of excellent illustrations.

This volume is the eighth in the series *Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History,* a series inaugurated twenty-five years ago.

Bluffton College Robert Kreider

Man's Capacity to Reproduce: The Demography of a Unique Population. By Joseph W. Eaton and Albert J. Mayer. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954. Pp. 59. $2.00.

The question of how great is man's capacity to reproduce has intrigued biologists and social scientists for many generations. Estimates have been made from the study of both animals and human populations. This book reports on a small but unique population which has come nearer to man's fertility limits than any other population for whom vital statistics are available.

The Hutterites are an Anabaptist sect founded in 1528 in the Austrian Tyrol. Between 1874 and 1877 practically all the then existing Hutterites migrated from Russia (where they had lived for over a century) to South Dakota. In 1950 a total of 93 colonies were located in South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Alberta, and Manitoba. Between 1880 and 1950 the sect increased over 19 times, from 443 to 8,542 persons.

Under the direction of the senior author a staff of researchers recently completed a comprehensive study of the cultural and psychiatric factors related to the excellent mental health of the Hutterites. The study was financed by grants from the National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Public Health Service. The findings of this larger study are to be published shortly under the title *Culture and Mental Disorders.*

The book under review is an interesting and valuable by-product of the larger study. The data for this special monograph were assembled when it became apparent that the Hutterite population afforded unusual information on human fecundity. The uniqueness of Hutterite fertility is not only very interesting in itself, but it also fails to support certain population theories advanced by Pearl, Malthus, and de Castro.

Among the salient facts concerning Hutterite fertility discovered by Eaton and Mayer are:

(1) The crude birth rate for 1946 through 1950 was 45.9. The 1953 rate for the United States was 24.7.

(2) The fertility ratio in 1950 was 96.3 (children under five years of age per 100 women of ages 15 to 49). The corresponding United States ratio for 1950 was 42.3.

(3) Fifty-one per cent of the 1950 Hutterite population was under 15 years of age.

(4) Ninety-eight per cent of all Hutterites over 45 years of age have married.

(5) Compared with the United States population as a whole, Hutterites marry at older ages. The median age at marriage in 1950 was 23.5 for Hutterite men, and 22.0 for women.

(6) Only 3.4 per cent of all marriages were childless.

(7) The average number of children born to completed families was 10.6.

(8) On the average, husbands live longer than their wives, which is the reverse of the United States population.

(9) The Hutterite population has increased at a constant rate of growth over the seventy-year period. The Pearl-Reed Logistic Curve does not fit the growth data for this period. Furthermore the rate of increase considerably exceeds the theoretical maximum suggested by Malthus. And finally, since Hutterite prosperity has increased rather than decreased, the "claim advanced by the nutritionist de Castro that the hungry peoples of the earth are the most fertile is certainly not borne out in the case of the Hutterites."

It was found that Hutterite fertility is greater than the fertility of all (national) populations reported in the United Nations Demographic Yearbook (1951). The authors claim that the fertility ratio "is greater than that of any other human population" (p. 15). Although this statement may be true, the authors would probably be on safer ground if they had added to the statement the phrase "for which population data are given in the United Nations Demographic Yearbook." It is possible that there may be other small segments of national populations with fertility as great as, or even greater than, the Hutterites. Demographers will be challenged to find other small groups whose fertility might be discovered to exceed that of the Hutterites.

Among the factors cited as contributing to high fertility are (1) the literal interpretation of the Scriptural injunction to "be fruitful and multiply"; (2) opposition to birth control measures; (3) economic security afforded all individuals and families through the communistic organization of each colony; (4) good health practices; (5) high marriage rates; and (6) low rate of sterility.

Although highly fertile, the Hutterites do not provide the final answer to the question of man's reproductive capacity. The authors point out that Hutterite fertility is not equal to the postulated theoretical level of fecundity. Operating against maximum fertility is the lateness of marriage, which postpones the beginning of the child-bearing period. The study does not provide information on the frequency of intercourse. The fact that even in the age period of 20 to 30 Hutterite women give birth to a child only about once in two years on the average suggests the possibility of a low rate of copulation. If a low rate of copulation should actually exist among Hutterites, this also would operate against maximum fertility.

The authors have presented a concise, interestingly written scholarly contribution to the fields of demography and ethnography. Sociologists and psychologists will also be interested in its ramifications. Mennonites will especially welcome this unique insight into some of the personal and social qualities of their Hutterian brethren.

Goshen College J. Howard Kauffman

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